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ABSTRACT

This report discusses findings from a review of a plan of the South African KwaMashu Christian Care Society (KMCCS) for introducing an educare program in which active older women give in-service training to grandmothers and other childminders who look after preschool children at home. Before launching the proposed program, a KMCCS committee conducted a study in 1987 with the help of the University of Natal to determine community reactions to this educare concept. A total of 302 residents were surveyed, of whom approximately 75 percent were women. Two-thirds had children of their own and one-third were grandmothers. The major finding was that the KMCCS educare program would be wholeheartedly accepted, as would a training program for women of all ages. It was also found that there was general support for the concept of institutional care for the aged and a feeling that traditional respect for the elderly is not necessarily affected by the perceived loss of the elder's role in modern industrial society. The survey resulted in a recommendation that the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre, an old-age home, should proceed with its proposed educare program. A total of 25 tables are included, and 4 appendices describe characteristics of the sample, a map of the area, a circular sent to survey participants reporting on the results of the survey, and a leaflet advertising the Khulakahle Childminding Association and Training Program. Contains 7 references. (LB)

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a community assessment

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Valerie Møller

Co-operative Research Programme on Ageing

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A role for black seniors in educare:

a community assessment

Valerie Møller

Pretoria
Human Sciences Research Council
1990

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Valerie Møller is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Social and Development Studies, University of Natal, Durban. Her main research interest is in quality of life studies and their application to the lives of older persons in society. She has recently conducted research among the African elderly and explored life styles in retirement, subjective wellbeing after return migration, and the influence of polygamy on morale.

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Valerie Møller

March 1988

CONTENTS Page

PREFACE		*xi*
1.	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	The educare concept: education and care of preschool children	1
1.2	Theoretical considerations: conflicting and converging generational needs	3
1.3	Method	5
1.3.1	Research aim	5
1.3.2	The study context	6
1.3.3	Sampling procedure	6
1.3.4	The sample	7
1.3.5	The fieldwork	8
1.3.6	Organisation of the report	9
2.	CHILDMINDING PRACTICES	10
2.1	Crèches as a community priority	10
2.2	Differential use of childminders	11
2.3	Childminding preferences	13
2.4	Summary and conclusions	17
3.	ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME AT KWAMASHU'S OLD-AGE CENTRE	19
3.1	General reactions to the educare concept	19
3.2	Evaluation of the feasibility of an educare programme	24

		Page
3.2.1	Factors preventing participation	26
3.2.2	Perceived advantages and disadvantages of educare training for grannies in training	27
3.2.3	Perceived advantages of educare training for children in care	32
3.2.4	Perceived attitudes of parents towards educare	35
3.2.5	Attitudes towards the screening of educare trainees	37
3.2.6	Attitudes towards paying for educare services	40
4.	COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF CARE OF THE ELDERLY	45
4.1	Attitudes towards institutional care	45
4.2	The image of the old-age centre in KwaMashu	51
4.3	Knowledge and assessment of the existing services provided by the old-age centre	59
4.4	Suggestions for improved services	63
4.5	Attractive features of the day care programme	66
4.6	A mandate for the old-age centre to provide accommodation for the disabled	68
5.	ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE ELDERLY IN SOCIETY	71
5.1	Care of the aged	71
5.2	Social integration	74
5.3	Social prestige	74
5.4	Intergenerational role conflict	75
5.5	Resource allocation to generations	76

TABLES Page

2.1	MOST URGENTLY NEEDED COMMUNITY FACILITY IN KWAMASHU	10
2.2	CARE OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN	12
2.3	CHILDMINDING PREFERENCES	14
2.4	IDEAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CHILDMINDER	18
3.1	ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CRÈCHE TO TRAIN CHILDMINDERS	20
3.2	SPONTANEOUS REACTIONS TOWARDS THE EDUCARE CONCEPT	2.
3.3	ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRAINING GRANNIES IN CHILDCARE	25
3.4	PERCEPTION OF FACTORS PREVENTING GRANNIES FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE PROPOSED EDUCARE PROGRAMME	26
3.5	PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES OF EDUCARE FOR GRANNIES	28
3.6	PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGES FOR GRANNIES TRAINED IN AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME	29

		Page
3.7	PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR CHILDREN IN THE EDUCARE SYSTEM	33
3.8	PROJECTIONS OF PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCARE	36
3.9	ATTITUDES TOWARDS WHO SHOULD RECEIVE TRAINING IN EDUCARE	38
3.10	ATTITUDES TOWARDS PAYMENT FOR EDUCARE SERVICES	41
4.1	ATTITUDES TOWARDS OLD-AGE HOMES	47
4.2	AWARENESS OF THE OLD-AGE CENTRE IN KWAMASHU	52
4.3	KNOWLEDGE OF THE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE IN KWAMASHU	53
4.4	USE OF THE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE	54
4.5	IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ZAMAZULU NKOSI CENTRE	57
4.6	KNOWLEDGE OF THREE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE	59

		Page
4.7	COMMUNITY PRIORITY RATING OF THREE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE	60
4.8	SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVED SERVICES	63
4.9	MOST ATTRACTIVE ASPECTS OF THE DAY CARE PROGRAMME	67
4.10	ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE OLD-AGE CENTRE ALSO PROVIDING ACCOMMODATION FOR THE DISABLED	69
5.1	ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE ELDERLY IN FAMILY AND SOCIETY	72

		Page
5.6	Summary	76
6.	DISCUSSION	78
6.1	The salience of educational values for all generations	78
6.2	Differential interests served by the proposed educare project	80
6.3	Revision of a traditional role for grannies	81
6.4	The value of professionalisation of caregiving	82
6.5	Recommendations	83
7.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	84
7.1	The need for childcare services	84
7.2	Reactions to the proposed educare training programme	84
7.3	The need for care of the aged	85
7.4	Perceptions of changing roles for old people in transitional society	87
7.5	Recommendations	87
REFERENCES		89
APPENDIX 1		90
APPENDIX 2		94
APPENDIX 3		95
APPENDIX 4		97

PREFACE

In April 1984 the KwaMashu Christian Care Society (KMCCS) opened the doors of KwaMashu's first and only old-age home, the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre for the Aged and Day Care Centre. Since its inception the old-age home in KwaMashu has become a place of love and care as is confirmed in this report. The KMCCS is constantly seeking ways to improve and expand the services which the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre can provide for the old folk of KwaMashu and their caregivers.

In 1986 the Main Committee of the KMCCS entertained the idea of introducing an "educare" programme for active older women. The intention was to give in-service training to grandmothers and other childminders who care for a small number of preschool children at home. Before launching the proposed programme the committee decided to sound out community reactions to the granny educare concept. The Main Committee approached the University of Natal to conduct a feasibility study on its behalf to determine the suitability of the programme.

The Centre for Applied Social Sciences, presently the Centre for Social and Development Studies, accepted this brief and carried out the research on behalf of KMCCS as a student project with the participation of the 1986 and 1987 intake of postgraduate students and research apprentices. The students assisted with the design of the questionnaire and the sampling method, and also prepared a brief memorandum covering the major findings to report back to all households participating in the survey. The Centre for Social and Development Studies regards communication with the community to be an integral ongoing part of the research process.

The major finding emerging from the study was that the KMCCS's educare programme would be accepted wholeheartedly by the community. Furthermore, results suggested that any training programme for women of all ages would be given a warm reception. The report details some of the few reservations expressed and suggestions for carrying out the programme to suit community needs.

The study also covered broader issues of concern than reactions to educare. The educare concept was used as a vehicle to explore further topics relating to the social development of the very young and seniors. These included attitudes toward institutional care of the aged in general and perceptions of the

role of the elderly in urban black society. A focal interest was the conflict situation arising from the need to care for different generations in a society in transition. The findings apply to KwaMashu in the first instance, but there are many lessons for other black urban areas in South Africa facing similar problems.

Postscript

Few research projects result in immediate benefits to the community from which respondents are drawn. This omission is a major ethical problem for most social scientists involved in applied research. Therefore the story of what happened **after** the research commissioned by the KwaMashu Christian Care Society was completed may be of interest to readers who share this concern.

After this report was drafted members of the KwaMashu households which had participated in the survey were posted a circular advising them of the results of the inquiry. Households were also informed by the researchers that the KMCCS intended to launch an educare programme taking into account the recommendations put forward in the survey. A copy of the 1988 circular is reprinted in Appendix 3.

In 1989 the KwaMashu Christian Care Society introduced a new division, the Khulakahle Childminding Association, to train women to take care of preschool children in a home environment. A copy of a leaflet advertising this association and the training programme in the community is reprinted in Appendix 4.

The Khulakahle project operates as a community project with the members of the advisory board drawn from parent groups and concerned citizens of KwaMashu. The Khulakahle Association has established links with other preschool organisations in the area which have provided expert advice and assistance.

Khulakahle's pilot project attracted a large number of applicants from whom three groups of trainees were carefully selected for the first training course run during April 1989. The pilot scheme encountered a number of teething problems initially, some of which had been anticipated by the respondents in the 1987 study. For example, the trainees' homes were often not suitable.

The homes were too small or the properties were not fenced. In these instances alternative space for training purposes was found in the old-age home. The KwaMashu Christian Care Society is currently giving consideration to building a crèche on the premises. Another problem was that the fees paid by the parents did not cover the full costs of childminding services and required subsidisation. The project leader was forced to spend much of her time on fundraising. However, with the benefit of experience gained from the pilot scheme Khulakahle looked forward to putting a new group of women through an educare training course in November 1989 and starting a playgroup project.

The author is certain that readers will join her in wishing the Khulakahle Association every success in serving the community.

Valerie Møller

May 1990

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The educare concept: education and care of preschool children

Educare, as the term is used in this report, refers to in-service training for persons providing preschool services. Morris (1980:159) in her report on childcare in Soweto defines the main objective of preschool systems as that of guiding children through their important formative years and then for entry into the formal education system. According to Morris the typical functions of the preschool system include health and nutrition, physical care and custody, cognitive development, and personality development. The demand for the health and care functions decreases with age. Home-based programmes which place the emphasis on security and warmth are appropriate for children under two years. Nursery schools and crèches are considered appropriate environments to stimulate the social and intellectual development of children over two years.

Preschool systems can usefully be divided into three major categories: home-based care, formal systems and informal systems. Formal systems include baby units designed for children under two years; nursery schools aimed at children from two to six years, with the emphasis on cognitive and personality development and using qualified staff, and crèches catering for the same age group as the nursery school, with the emphasis on care and custody and using untrained staff. Informal systems include all non-institutionalised forms of preschool care, mainly childminders.

The need for preschool services outside the home depends mainly on two factors: the time that mothers have at their disposal to stimulate and care for their children, and the ability of the family to prepare children for school. Both these factors are lacking in transitional society: the formal education system is unfamiliar and many mothers are forced to work away from home in order to provide for their families.

In KwaZulu alone an estimated one million children are under seven years of age. Approximately half will be in need of preschool services to supplement home care. However, not all children in need of care have access to formal childcare systems. Therefore a growing number of organisations and concerned groups have been formed to upgrade preschool education by training lay childminders and supervisors. Van den Berg and Vergnani (1986) list some 43 private organisations involved in the provision of childcare and training throughout South Africa.

A common element in paraprofessional preschool training is the in-service training of childminders using teaching aids and handbooks, regular home visits to supervise childminders, and support clubs which may include parents as well as childminders. Some programmes include bulk buying of food which is then distributed to home-based childminders at cost. In some instances supervisors also undertake to collect fees from the parents of the children in care to ensure that childminders receive regular payments for their services.

The provision of childminding services represents an important informal sector activity, especially for older women and women with no skills. This is one of the major findings emerging from a case study conducted by the Urban Foundation in Moroka, and reviewed by Morris (1980:166-168):

> In Moroka childminding accounted for 34 percent of all informal economic activities. Among a total of 32 childminders identified in the sample, the average age was 64. The average level of education was Standard 4, the length of time as childminder was 10 years, and each childminder cared for an average of 2,75 children. (The legal limit is for a childminder to cater for up to 6 children excluding her own.) Only 14 percent of the children in care were related to the childminder. Only 12 percent of the childminders provided meals, in most cases mothers brought either prepared food or food which the childminder prepared for the children. Lower rates were charged for minding the children of friends and relatives. A suggestion was made to the respondents in the survey that a link be formed with an existing centre to assist childminders. Sixty-five percent, mainly the younger age group and healthy women, reacted favourably to the suggestion. A realistic assessment was that some 50 percent of all the childminders in the survey would respond to an upgrading and assistance programme conducted through an agency such as a preschool centre.

The reservations concerning the in-service training of older childminders expressed in the report on the Moroka study suggest caution. However, practical experience shows that problems associated with the training of older childminders can be overcome. For example, a successful childminding scheme operating in the Cape carefully screens its candidates. The following criteria are applied:

> Trainees must have a genuine interest in children, be in good health, be willing to look after children properly, value cleanliness, have very basic reading and writing skills, and a minimal understanding of English, i.e. sufficient so as to understand the instructions printed on the child health card (personal communication with Nurse E.N. Nqoko, 15.10.1987).

In the present study KwaMashu residents were asked to express their views on the need for preschool services and a preschool training programme in their area. In particular their reactions were sought to the introduction of an educare programme aimed at upgrading the childminding skills of grannies and older women. The educare programme would operate under the auspices of the local old-age home.

1.2 Theoretical considerations: conflicting and converging generational needs

The educare programme involving senior childminders is an interesting concept: it marries the twin goals of promoting the development of the very young while offering training in childcare to the older person. Thus, preschool and adult education needs are served simultaneously and, theoretically at least, a compromise is achieved in serving the needs of two generations.

In rapidly developing societies resources are inevitably stretched and conflict arises as to whose interests are paramount: those of the younger or the older generations. Generational conflict in Third World societies has often been associated with a change in lifestyle and mores, but it is also a power struggle over scarce resources. In societies in which almost half of the population is under 15 years of age, one will not expect investment in the education and human development of the elderly to take precedence and occur at the cost of the young. Promotion of the interests of the younger generation represents

optimism and a forward planning policy in a rapidly developing and youthful society.

Nevertheless, one must not lose sight of the fact that the number of black elderly is also increasing dramatically. The ageing of the black population in South Africa follows the Third World pattern. Although only some 5 % of black South Africans are expected to be in the 60+ cohorts by the year 2020, in terms of absolute numbers the black aged will represent a significant minority. Social policy will determine whether the black aged become a useful human asset or merely a burden to their families and society.

Theoretically, the educare concept when applied to the "grannies" in urban black society extends and develops the traditional role of African women in the advanced stage of life. Grannies in traditional society were typically assigned the function of introducing the young members of the community to their cultural heritage, tribal customs and the history of their forbears. Grannies were involved not only in the physical care of their young charges but were also concerned with their mental and moral development. In urban society the relevance of a "traditional" education has by and large fallen away and with it the highly esteemed role of the traditional African granny.

Ageing in any given society is all about easing into new roles in each successive phase of life. The main problem in modern society is commonly thought to be the role loss associated with retirement from the mainstream of adult life. Although retirement may be a typically modern problem, traditional societies moving into the urban-industrial world are not spared the modern dilemmas of growing old. Transitional society will have to decide whether to discard or reshape existing ageing patterns in the process of becoming modern.

Such decisions can be painful. Seen from this viewpoint, educare represents a compromise solution, which aims to restore the dignity of the traditional senior female role by infusing it with a new meaning for urban-industrial society. Thus, theoretically senior black women may be assisted to regain the respect which was their due in traditional society.

As regards the preschool aspect of the educare programme, it meets the requirements of the modern-western educational system. Caregivers are trained to meet the four basic needs of the young child: health and hygiene, physical development, social-emotional security, and mental and moral development. Children are typically cared for in a safe and secure but also stimulating environment. Ideally, children participating in the educare pro-

gramme should be well-adjusted and ready to enter into the formal education system when they reach the requisite age. The educare system seeks to promote the active role of the child in acquiring physical, social and intellectual skills. This might be seen as a decisive shift away from the traditional method which emphasises unquestioning obedience and rote learning modes. Traditional childrearing practices may not serve the child well in later life in a competitive world which demands individual initiative and analytical abilities.

The success of the educare concept and its practical application will, however, not be assessed solely in terms of the needs of the very young and the old. The ultimate arbitrators will inevitably be the people who make up the mainstream of society - the general adult population. The mainstream is not a disinterested party and cannot be expected to act as an impartial judge. The bulk of the people who make up the mainstream will be parents who are inextricably caught up in the modern dilemma. To whom do they owe their devotion in the first instance: the preceding generation or the new generation? One might anticipate that the mainstream, that is members of the middle generation, would react positively toward the educare concept if it indeed goes anywhere near solving their problem of attending to the needs of their parents and children simultaneously. However, it is possible that the middle generation will not perceive educare as a twin solution, but as a programme serving mainly the needs of one or the other generation. Parents' reactions may therefore provide clues to the shifting allegiances and commitments of the middle generation in transitional society.

1.3 Method

1.3.1 Research aim

The study reported on here was designed to explore the theme of conflicting and converging needs of the different generations in urban black society with the educare concept serving as the analytical tool. More specifically the study is an attempt to elicit community reactions to a proposed educare programme in relation to concerns regarding childcare and preschool education, and the role of the elderly. The views of parents were sought as representatives of the adult mainstream as were those of grandparents, representing senior members of the community. Women are overrepresented in the sample in

keeping with their presumed greater interest in the educare concept and their greater numerical strength among seniors.

1.3.2 The study context

KwaMashu is a black suburb of Durban situated to the northeast of the city. The township is administered by the KwaZulu Government. According to official estimates KwaMashu has over 250 000 residents, most of whom depend on income earned in the city. A large proportion of female residents are wage earners. Therefore access to childminding services is an issue of concern in the township.

The old-age centre which serves KwaMashu is situated near the main shopping centre in the neighbourhood known as J-section. A map of KwaMashu shows the location of the old-age centre relative to the other neighbourhoods in the formal housing area and the Richmond Farm shack area. (Cf. Appendix 2.)

1.3.3 Sampling procedure

A sample was drawn in KwaMashu which was stratified by neighbourhood. Within each neighbourhood target households were identified by a systematic random sampling procedure. A similar but less rigorous method was applied to select a subsample of residents of a shack area adjoining the neighbourhood in which KwaMashu's old-age home is located.

Within the target households the person whose birthday fell closest to June was interviewed. This selection procedure was adopted as a simple approximation of the conventional Kish table. Only adults who could reasonably be assumed to be concerned with childcare in an urban setting were included, that is parents with children resident in town. Therefore single men were excluded, as were migrant households whose children were being brought up in the country.

Replacement of target households and individuals within households was allowed in the case of structural errors in the sampling frame, longer-term non-availability of the target person, ineligibility, and in a few cases genuine disinterest in the topic of study. This method of replacement may have resulted

in a certain degree of self-selection. However, self-selection was not considered a serious flaw in the research design. A genuine interest in the topic of research on the part of participants and their willingness to co-operate was thought to produce data of a high quality.

The replacement figures are shown below:

	Total replacement N	Wastage as percentage of total contacts (100 % = 412*) %
Target does not qualify for inclusion in the sample**	69	17
Structural sampling error (vacant site, public building)	9	2
Non-availability of target person	6	2
Refusal	26	6
TOTAL replacement = wastage	110	27

* 302 successful contacts resulting in full interviews plus 110 unsuccessful contacts = 412 contacts.

** Migrant households, no children in household, children resident in rural areas.

Given the selection procedure with provision for replacement, the sample cannot be considered a probability sample in the strictest sense. However the sample is certainly representative of a cross-section of the urban-based KwaMashu population.

1.3.4 The sample

A profile of the sample is contained in the tables in Appendix 1 and only the major characteristics are reviewed here. Over three-quarters of the

respondents were women. Thirty per cent of the respondents were under 30 years of age and a similar proportion over 50 years. Two-thirds of the sample claimed to be parents and one-third grandparents. The modal level of education was four to six years of formal education and only 16 % stated they had attained a Standard 9 or higher level of education. Two-thirds of the households were headed by a male member. In one-third of cases the interviewee was the household head. The main breadwinner was a skilled or professional worker in 28 % of cases. The majority (31 %) of households had semi-skilled or manual workers as the main income earner. In approximately two-fifths of cases surveyed households relied on income from domestic work, informal sector activities or pensions. Eighty-four per cent of the surveyed households had children of school-going age. In 73 % of cases the children in these households were attending school. In the majority of cases financial reasons were cited for non-attendance at school. In five cases school children stayed at home to look after their grandparents. Two-thirds of the surveyed households had children of preschool age. Fifty-six per cent of the households had a granny resident in the household. One out of two grannies resident in the surveyed households was interviewed.

1.3.5 The fieldwork

The fieldwork for the study was carried out during the period April to June 1987. In all, 302 personal interviews were carried out in Zulu by four men and one woman, all experienced interviewers. Interviews were checked for quality and the interviewers were debriefed at regular intervals, once or twice a week. Open-ended items were content-analysed by the author in consultation with the members of the field team. The data was coded and then processed on the university computer.

The questionnaire contained a mix of open- and closed-ended items. The exploratory nature of the survey called for a high proportion of open-ended items.

The research was conceived as a student training project. Two classes of students participating in a postgraduate research course in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in two successive years, 1986 and 1987, assisted with the construction of the questionnaire, its translation into Zulu and the research design. Owing to other commitments, the class of 1987 was not able to undertake the fieldwork. However, the students prepared a brief summary of

selected survey findings to report back to the community. The summary was mailed to all the households who participated in the survey. (Cf. Appendix 3 for a copy of the circular sent out in September 1988.)

1.3.6 Organisation of the report

The report is divided into four sections: The first section discusses child-minding practice in the community. The second section focuses on reactions to the proposed educare concept as it affects different groups: the childminder trainees, the children in care, and the parents of the children in care. The third section discusses the community's perceptions of the care of the elderly. The role and functions of the old-age home which serves the local community are explored. The fourth section takes a general look at attitudes toward the elderly and focuses on perceptions of the role of seniors in the community and their life chances.

2

CHILDMINDING PRACTICES

2.1 Crèches as a community priority

Right at the beginning of the interview the respondents were asked to identify the most urgent need in KwaMashu in a list of four community facilities. The results are set out in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1

MOST URGENTLY NEEDED COMMUNITY FACILITY IN KWAMASHU

"There are many needs and problems in KwaMashu. What would you say are the most pressing needs of people in KwaMashu. I will read you some things. Please tell me which thing is most important and which thing is second most important."

Facility	First response %	Multiple responses %
Crèches for young children	49	77
Training centres where women can learn skills	36	74
Youth centres	7	19
Centre where older people can meet	8	28
TOTAL N = 302	100	

Crèches and training centres for women received the highest number of votes, old-age service centres and youth centres the smallest numbers. The poll may have been influenced by the interviewers disclosing the topic to be covered in the survey when introducing themselves to the respondents. However, there is no reason not to accept the results at face value. It would appear that needs which are closely related to material survival are considered most urgent. The majority of the respondents were women and parents. Working mothers require childcare services and skills training more than other facilities to cater to the material needs of their families. By this reasoning youth and old-age centres may be categorized as less urgent recreational needs.

Further analysis supports this interpretation. Training centres were particularly attractive to the less educated (81 % of Std 6 vs 64 % of Std 7+ education) and unemployed (80 % vs 67 % employed) categories in the sample. Youth centres appeared to be more important for the more advantaged categories in the community: the better educated (27 % of Std 7+ vs 13 % of Std 6 education) and those who have access to crèche facilities for their children (26 % vs 18 % of others). As might be expected age or life-cycle interests appeared to influence perceptions of needs. Forty per cent of the oldest (51+ years) but only 23 % of the youngest (up to 30 years) category in the survey voted for the old-age centre; 80 % of women but only 68 % of men voted for crèches, and 23 % of parents but only 9 % of grandparents voted for youth centres.

2.2 Differential use of childminders

Respondents resident in households with preschool children were asked who looked after their children. Three options were supplied. Roughly equal proportions, one-quarter of the households with preschool children, reported that the children were looked after by a granny or were taken to a crèche, respectively (cf. Table 2.2). A further fifth in this category indicated that children were looked after by some other childminder, the mother, a relative in the home, or a neighbour. (Cf. Table 2.2.)

In the case of grannies there was no payment or it was considered reasonable. Only a small minority stated that they had to pay another childminder a fee which they considered too high. In two-thirds of cases where children were cared for in a crèche respondents indicated that the fees were reasonable.

Only in one-third of cases did the respondents complain of unreasonably high crèche fees.

TABLE 2.2

CARE OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

	%**
In own household*	
Granny as childminder	25
Other childminder	20
Children in crèche	25
N = 198	
In the neighbourhood	
Larger crèche run by organisation	55
Mothers	24
Neighbours	17
Grannies	15
Smaller crèches: trained personnel	4
untrained personnel	6
Other	3
N = 198	

* Respondents in households with preschool children.

** Multiple responses.

In reply to a question concerning the manner in which the preschool children in their neighbourhood were cared for, the respondents referred to the popularity of crèches as childminding centres (cf. Table 2.2). Larger crèches appeared to be most popular (55 %), but a minority of respondents stated that children in the vicinity were sent to small crèches operating with or without

trained personnel (10 %). Smaller proportions in the sample indicated that children in their area were usually cared for by mothers (24 %), neighbours (17 %) or grannies (15 %).

There was a tendency for individual households to report that other persons in the neighbourhood made use of the same childminders as they themselves did. This finding is open to several interpretations. Either respondents merely assumed that their neighbours had similar habits to theirs and this was not in actual fact the case. Alternatively, the respondents' observations were correct and childminding practices in each neighbourhood were fairly homogeneous but varied between neighbourhoods. There is also the possibility that the crèche was felt to be the most desirable childminding solution and the replies to our question were unintentionally coloured by considerations of social preferences rather than social facts. Other survey evidence suggests that this may be the case. Whichever interpretation is correct, crèches appear to represent the general childminding solution, while other options will depend largely on more specific circumstances of the individual household and its social environment.

2.3 Childminding preferences

Respondents were asked to state their choice of childminders in the case of the mother not being available to look after the child and to qualify their choice. The results of this probe are set out in Table 2.3.

The large crèche was by far the most popular choice. Only minorities indicated a preference for grannies or childminders or for the small crèche run by a qualified childminder.

In qualifying their responses respondents indicated that their major concern was for qualified personnel who would provide not only for the physical needs of the child but also for its mental development. The larger crèche had the trained manpower, resources and facilities to provide superior childcare. Larger crèches provided a clean hygienic environment, adequate and safe play space, activities were run to schedule and in the case of a child becoming sick there was usually a health officer who could attend to it. By contrast, the childminding services of individuals tended to be haphazard operations. Children were not always kept clean or fed on time or given adequate stimulation.

TABLE 2.3

CHILDMINDING PREFERENCES

"What is the best way for small children to be cared for when their mothers are not at home: by a granny; by another person/by a trained person who looks after 5-6 children in her home (i.e. runs a small crèche); by a larger crèche run by an organisation?"

	%
Crèche run by an organisation	72
Granny	16
Small crèche run by trained personnel	10
Small crèche	1
Other	1
N = 301	
Qualifications for choice*	
Trained, experienced personnel	19
Children receive mental stimulation, preschool training	11
Physical needs of the child met	11
Adequate facilities and resources	11
Caring, kind personnel	10
Physical safety, protection from motor traffic	7
Cost factors	6
Responsible, trustworthy personnel	5
Health services available	4
Regular daily routine	3
Hygienic environment	3
Individual attention	3
Organisational backing	2
Convenience factors	2
Children learn manners, customs	2
N = 301	

* Multiple responses.

If the child or the granny were sick, problems arose. In favour of the smaller crèche and the granny was the personal attention afforded to each child and convenience factors. The single most important reason for preferring granny as childminder was the idea that grannies would by nature be the most loving and caring persons. However, the fees of the smaller crèches were usually higher than those of the larger ones:

Crèche

Children get better food, they get trained, they learn prayers, songs and mix with other children.

The crèche has teachers, cooks, all sorts of toys for children to develop their minds.

I recommend a larger crèche under a certain organisation because it operates according to rules.

Children are cleaned and fed on time.

It has trained and responsible people who are answerable to a supervisor. At home people are not responsible.

There are trained people, who do nothing else but care for children. Unlike an individual who may go and drink, and forget about a child.

Children learn while they grow. Children are playing games. Children are prepared for school. Children are provided health services by the nurses.

At crèches children receive education while at home you cannot educate kids.

A crèche makes children bright.

Grannies are powerless to clean children and wash their clothes. However at crèches they employ active people to mind children in a more satisfactory way.

A larger crèche is safe because it is "well fenced". Children are kept safe from road accidents.

Helps especially those without grannies to look after their children.

Fees are reasonable and satisfactory in the sense that children are prepared for school.

Payment for a larger crèche is far cheaper than a small crèche. A larger crèche provides clean accommodation and fresh food.

The crèche is part of the community's project where people are called to meetings to share ideas unlike a one-person project.

Small crèche

Because the person is trained there is a lot that she can develop the child's mind with.

Because that saves time. These larger crèches are situated too far from kids' homes. It is a burden for a parent to carry her kid to a crèche and then go to work. Parents sometimes arrive late at work. Some of these crèches do not have transport.

Granny

Granny likes to play with children and make them happy.

Granny is always kind to the children. Granny is the most experienced person in bringing up the children.

Granny always likes children, and to avoid infection from other children in crèches.

Granny is the best because I don't have the problem of going to fetch the child after work. Although one has to give some instructions.

Because a granny could easily detect beforehand when a child is taken ill. Therefore she knows the right herbs to be used to prevent illness.

Two further probes explored the characteristics of the ideal childminder. Table 2.4 shows that the respondents were mainly concerned that childminders should be trained to care for their children properly. Practical experience or familiarity with the child to be minded were not considered to be substitutes for professional qualifications. However, a second consideration was that childminders should be kindly and like working with children.

In childcare respondents indicated that the first priority was the competent and reliable care of the physical needs of the child and its safety. Further considerations were value for money and teaching children to be well-mannered. In comparison to the forementioned, teaching children games and keeping them happy were considered of very much lesser importance. This finding is somewhat surprising considering the earlier results which suggested a high regard for stimulating children in order to prepare them for school.

Better educated persons in the sample and persons who stated a preference for crèche care for children, tended to emphasise the advantages of training. The less educated persons and those who stated a preference for their children to be cared for by a granny attached great importance to the personality and experience of the caregiver. (Cf. Table 2.4.)

2.4 Summary and conclusions

Findings reviewed in this section suggest that crèche facilities are a high community priority. One-quarter of the households in the survey reportedly had preschool children enrolled in a crèche, and the majority of the respondents stated that most people in their neighbourhood made use of crèche facilities. According to the respondents, small crèches, even if run by a trained person, cannot compare with a large crèche which has superior resources and facilities. Large crèches responsible to a backing organisation inspire confidence in parents. There are also economics of scale involved which mean that parents pay reasonable fees for the care of their children. Crèche care is geared towards preparing children for school. A popular view is that crèche children are "clever" and have a head start.

Although one-quarter of the households with preschool children indicated that the granny in the home provided childminding services, only 15 % of the total sample stated that children in their neighbourhood were usually in the care of grannies. Although grannies are generally considered to be loving childminders, their services are considered inferior when compared with those rendered by professionals with organisational backup. Grannies do have the advantage of offering a convenient home service for free. However, given the choice, parents would prefer to rely on crèche care for their children.

TABLE 2.4

IDEAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CHILDMINDER

"In your opinion, what type of person is the best person to look after small children:

(i) A kind person who likes children; a person who has looked after many children over the years; a relative who knows the children well; a person who has been trained to look after children, or

(ii) A person who is strict with children and teaches them manners; a person who looks after children well by feeding them, keeping them clean, and seeing they are safe; a person who plays with children and teaches them new things; a person who knows how to make children happy; a trustworthy person who will keep the children safe; a person who is good with children and will not charge too much for looking after them?"

	%
Trained person	57
Kind person who likes children	30
Experienced in childminding	9
Relative, person known to children	4
TOTAL	100
N = 302	
	%*
Person concerned with child's physical needs and safety	79
Provides good care at a reasonable charge	36
Trustworthy person	29
Strict person who teaches children manners	28
Plays with and stimulates the child	16
Makes the child happy	11
N = 301	

* Multiple responses.

3

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME AT KWAMASHU'S OLD-AGE CENTRE

Having discussed the respondents' general views on childcare we turn to their reactions to an educare programme.

Following some general knowledge items concerning KwaMashu's old-age centre, a number of items were put to the respondents which explored their feelings on an educare programme sponsored by the centre.

3.1 General reactions to the educare concept

Firstly, respondents were asked how they felt about the centre opening up a crèche to train childminders. Four response categories were provided. Initial reactions were mainly positive (cf. Table 3.1).

Just over 70 % indicated that there was a need for additional crèches in KwaMashu. However, slightly over one-quarter expressed reservations regarding either the location of the centre (21 %) or affordability (7 %).

When presented with a fairly expansive description of the educare concept - its objectives and how the programme would be carried out practically, reactions were generally positive though a few spontaneous reservations were made (cf. Table 3.2). Just under half of the respondents welcomed the scheme because in their view childminding standards would be improved. An estimated one-third of the respondents commented on aspects related to the personal development of grannies. The scheme would provide a new role and social recognition for grannies. The certificate would serve as a badge of competence which might open new job and income-earning opportunities for grannies.

TABLE 3.1

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CRÈCHE TO TRAIN CHILDMINDERS

"How do you think people will feel about ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre opening up a crèche to train childminders?: It will be a good thing because there are too few crèches in KwaMashu; crèches are too expensive, people cannot afford them; there are enough crèches in KwaMashu, there is no need for another one; the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre is too far away from most of the people who need the crèche."

	%
There is a need for crèches	71
The centre is too far away	21
Crèches are too expensive	7
There are enough crèches	1
TOTAL	100
N = 300	

A number of respondents intimated that grannies might find jobs at larger crèches after they had completed their training. Grannies were the ideal persons to train as childminders as they were already doing the job. Training would increase their skills. A small number of respondents also pointed out that the grannies resident in the centre would enjoy participating in the programme and having more contact with their or other people's grandchildren. (Cf. Table 3.2.)

A few respondents thought grannies would enjoy and benefit from club members' help. A substantial number welcomed the additional crèche facility staffed by trained personnel. In this category a minority referred specifically to alternative, more convenient childcare options which would be developed through the programme. A small number of persons welcomed the educare programme as a novel community development scheme from which everybody in KwaMashu stood to gain. There were few negative spontaneous reactions. However, a small minority voiced misgivings concerning the suitability of grannies, transport problems, and the inability of grannies to participate if training fees were charged.

TABLE 3.2

SPONTANEOUS REACTIONS TOWARDS THE EDUCARE CONCEPT

	%*	%**
Better, professional childminders	47	
Promotion of grannies	35	
New role		15
Certificates issued		9
Earning, job opportunities		8
Grannies ideal training material		7
Club membership		2
Advantages for live-in grannies		2
Increase in (alternative) crèche facilities	15	
Everybody stands to benefit	7	
Negative reactions	6	
N = 296		

* Estimated average calculated on the basis of single and multiple responses.

** Multiple responses.

Some examples of spontaneous reactions are given below:

I see it as a good plan. It is the first time that anyone has talked of training grannies who would look after children. Everybody leaves children with grannies whether trained or not.

It is a good idea especially to train grannies because they looked after children prior to the invention of crèches.

It's a good idea especially to keep grannies busy with modern methods of working. Grannies will not feel old but will feel younger because of accomplishment.

Old people will have a job to do rather than staying idle. That will help keep their minds busy.

To get them committed rather than drinking. Old people will get knowledge to help themselves and teach children.

Grannies will feel committed. Grannies won't feel lonely. They will receive certificates in their last days.

The plan is good. Grannies have more love for children, they would enjoy having certificates and belonging to a club.

Good idea because everything nowadays is trained for. One must do a trained job.

Grannies will obtain certificates. These certificates will assist them in finding work minding children even in white areas.

This centre is going to solve the problem of unemployment and poverty if all goes well.

Training of grannies will provide more job opportunities such as work in crèches, cripple care centres and old-age homes.

Training will give us more confidence in them (the grannies).

It's going to create good relationships between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law. Daughters-in-law have no confidence in us looking after their children.

Wonderful idea, we need security for our children, so grannies must be trained. Maybe we will enter a new era, where children will be staying with trained people.

Kids will be well cared for and even the kids who do not know the crèche life will benefit when grannies bring them along.

This plan will enable almost all families to be self-sufficient in matters of child care. Most grannies will be experts in this needed job.

It would be very helpful to parents who walk long distances to leave their babies in the morning before going to work.

Black people need this kind of help. We only know of these plans among Indians and whites. It is very good for blacks as well. It is a good plan because both grannies and children are going to learn. While grannies learn to care for children, children will learn handcraft.

Everything is right. Children will acquire skills at an early stage. Grannies will teach children respect. Children will prepare themselves for school early.

The children will feel proud of being looked after by trained people. The granny that stays there now has a chance of seeing her grandchildren every day if the child comes to the crèche daily.

Further analyses tentatively suggest that the educare concept may differ in its significance for different groups in the community. Personal interests and socio-economic factors may play an important role in shaping the meaning of the educare concept. The improvement of the standard of childminding might be regarded as a particular interest of parents and households who rely on grannies as childminders. The interpretation of educare as an adult education and human development concept appears to be more common among the higher socio-economic strata in the community. As might be expected, personal development through programmes such as educare, appears to represent a personal interest for the more senior women.

Tentative support for these suppositions is found in the survey evidence. Only 44 % in the oldest (51 years and older) category in the survey and 47 % of grandparents, but 50 % of under-fifties and parents, respectively, emphasized the improvement of childminding standards and services. Forty-seven per cent in the older category and of grandparents, respectively, but only 43% of under-fifties and 40 % of parents focussed on personal development aspects of the educare programme. Higher proportions in the higher educated (Std 7+) and skilled and professional categories (46 %, 50 %) emphasized granny development than their counterparts in the lower socio-economic ranks (42 %, 38 %). Conversely, higher percentages of the persons in the lower than the higher occupational and educational levels (52 %, 53 % vs 46%, 45 %) emphasized the improvement of childminding standards. Furthermore, more persons in households where children were in crèche care (18 %) than persons in households where children were cared for by grannies (9 %) showed an interest in the increase in crèche facilities. Respondents in households where children were attended by grannies (49 %) and respondents who felt grannies made the best childminders (58 %) indicated greater concern about improving the quality of childminding than persons whose children attended a crèche (28 %) and persons who believed crèches provided the best childcare (46 %). Conversely, a larger proportion of persons who preferred crèches (48 %) than persons who preferred grannies (33 %) as childminders emphasized the adult education and personal development aspect of the educare programme. Although the numbers are small, the Richmond Farm respondents appeared to be more concerned than

others with the increase in crèche facilities (27 % vs 15 %), and the improvement of childcare facilities (59 % vs 48 %) than with the development opportunities for grannies (27 % vs 45 %).

3.2 Evaluation of the feasibility of an educare programme

Respondents were asked whether they supported the idea of training grannies in childcare and whether they knew of grannies who would come forward to receive training. Table 3.3 shows that the majority of respondents thought it would be "a good thing to train grannies".

Reasons cited were that trainees would learn useful skills which would boost their confidence and motivate them to fulfil a useful role in the home and the community. Grannies might be able to re-enter the labour market after training. Educare training represented an extension of the natural role of grandmothers. It was in the nature of grannies to be kind, loving and patient with children. A substantial minority emphasized the positive influence on standards of childcare. Grannies would be instructed in modern childcare methods; as a result children would benefit greatly in terms of physical and mental development. Parents would have peace of mind knowing their children were well cared for. A small minority implied that grannies needed re-education as they were poorly motivated or inefficient childminders. Some five per cent stated that grannies were unsuitable training material with reference to grannies' advanced age, failing health, and tendency to spoil children or be impatient with them.

Forty-four per cent of the respondents stated that they knew of grannies who would wish to be trained. In some cases the respondents themselves expressed an interest. As might be expected, a significantly higher proportion of grandparents (50 %) than parents (40 %) stated they knew of potential trainees. A somewhat higher proportion of persons who were of the opinion that crèches (46 %) cared better for children than grannies (38 %) knew of a person who might wish to train. Surprisingly, the Richmond Farm respondents (32 %), as well as other persons living in close proximity to KwaMashu's old-age centre (34 %) were less likely to know of interested persons than KwaMashu residents living far away from the centre (48 %). However, these differences are not statistically significant.

TABLE 3.3

ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRAINING GRANNIES IN CHILDCARE

"Do you think it is a good thing to train grannies?"

	%
Positive: a good thing	95
Negative	5
TOTAL	100
N = 302	
Qualifications	
Positive	
Grannies will gain useful knowledge, skills in childcare	29
Grannies will gain confidence, be motivated to use their talents	18
Improved standard of childcare; head start for educare children	12
Grannies will gain job, income-earning opportunities	10
Grannies suitable for training: loving, patient, kind	10
Educare is a natural extension of the granny role	9
Grannies need to improve their skills, change their habits	4
Alternative, more convenient, less costly childcare services	2
Other benefits to grannies	1
Negative	
Grannies are unsuitable training material	5
TOTAL	100
N = 300	

3.2.1 Factors preventing participation

Respondents were asked if there were factors which might prevent interested grannies from participating in the proposed educare scheme. The majority (58 %) thought that there were no obstacles preventing grannies from participating (Table 3.4).

TABLE 3.4

PERCEPTION OF FACTORS PREVENTING GRANNIES FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE PROPOSED EDUCARE PROGRAMME

"What, if anything, could prevent interested grannies from making use of the opportunity to receive training?"

	%
Nothing	58
Specific factor	42
TOTAL	100
N = 296	
Factors preventing participation*	
Advanced age, poor health, age-related learning problems	35
Transport problems	26
Commitments to the family and home duties	15
Otherwise employed	9
Cost of transport and/or training	7
Illiteracy	5
Laziness, disinterest	4
Drinking problems	4
Other	1
N = 124	

* Multiple responses.

Among those who foresaw problems, one-third referred to age- and health-related problems; transport problems were mentioned by a further quarter, and 15 % thought family commitments and home duties or regular employment might prevent grannies from participating. Also mentioned were cost factors, illiteracy, laziness and drinking problems:

Lack of education could prevent grannies from using this chance. Most of the grannies have walking problems. Therefore they will be in trouble if there is no transport arranged for them daily.

Their sons or daughters might refuse them transport.

Some would need to be accompanied. Some can no longer get up early enough.

Some grannies are working to get pennies for a living, so training will consume much of their working hours.

It could be the odd jobs they do, pension day or illness.

Grannies are always sick.

Beer is "the problem".

Some grannies look after the home. They would have difficulties locking their homes and going to the ZamaZulu Centre for the day as there are too many thieves around the township.

3.2.2 Perceived advantages and disadvantages of educare training for grannies in training

In reply to two separate probes, the respondents indicated that in their opinions grannies stood to benefit rather than lose from educare training (cf. Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

TABLE 3.5

PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES OF EDUCARE FOR GRANNIES

"What advantages will there be for the grannies who receive training in childcare and join the club?"

	%*
Employment opportunities	45
Access to a job and clientele	36
Access to a job in a crèche	9
Income, additional income, financial security and independence	33
Recognition in the community	16
Learning of skills, acquisition of knowledge	15
Remain active, youthful, healthy, not bored	5
Application of skills	5
Assist the family	3
Opportunity to socialize	1
Don't know	2
None	1
N = 301	

* Multiple responses.

The major advantages of educare training were perceived to be the employment and income-earning opportunities which would be open to grannies awarded certificates. A substantial number of respondents envisaged that grannies with certificates might find employment in regular crèches and other places which require personnel trained in childcare. A tendency was observed for the older and less educated categories in the survey to emphasize job and income-earning advantages but this trend is not statistically significant.

TABLE 3.6

PERCEIVED DISADVANTAGES FOR GRANNIES TRAINED IN AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME

"What disadvantages, if any, will there be for the grannies if they receive training?"

	%
None	80
Mention of specific disadvantages, problems	20
TOTAL	100
N = 299	
Disadvantages, problems	
Difficulties with training	
- difficulties retaining what is taught	27
- age, health problems	15
- difficulties walking to the centre, transport problems	12
- illiteracy	5
- if unsuitable persons trained	5
- if training is in English	2
Insufficient jobs, clientele for trained grannies	19
Grannies may not live long enough to use skills	5
Neglect of home duties	3
Trained grannies refuse to look after grandchildren free of charge	3
Training costs	2
Training takes place during working hours	2
TOTAL	100
N = 59	

Some respondents emphasized the independence and longer-term financial security which grannies would gain from their new status. Substantial numbers referred to the social recognition which would accrue to trained grannies who would be able to play a useful role in the community and the family.

Grannies would have the opportunity to learn useful skills and in the process retain an interest in life and remain active.

Only a minority of approximately one-fifth foresaw disadvantages and problems connected with the educare scheme. Anticipated learning problems mentioned spontaneously at the outset were raised again in reply to this item, namely transport, age and health-related issues. It was thought that training grannies who for various reasons could not cope, would lead to frustration and a loss of self-esteem. Various reasons were cited for inability to meet training requirements: low educational standard, declining memory and mental agility, frailty, and irregular attendance due to poor health.

Apart from difficulties in training, a second source of potential frustration was anticipated if there should be insufficient jobs to absorb all the grannies trained in the scheme, or if grannies failed to attract sufficient clientele.

Some few respondents thought grannies' health might be taxed with the training or the effort to commute to the training centre. Some few respondents thought that training would be wasted on persons who would not be able to apply the newly learnt skills for many years. With reference to family interests rather than obvious disadvantages to recipients of training, mention was made of the fact that grannies undergoing training might neglect their home duties, and upon completing their training, might demand payment for looking after their grandchildren. We shall return to this issue later.

Advantages

They will get the training they need, they will not feel inferior to others.

They will be the first to be employed by any child care, cripple care and old-age home.

It is the advantage of employment at any crèche, or even starting her own crèche.

Job opportunities to mind children for neighbours.

The clientele will increase by leaps and bounds.

Those grannies who stay in their homes will be useful to parents who can't afford a crèche. So they, the grannies, will get some cents from those parents.

There will be additional money to their pension.

Grannies will get money to buy meat because most old grannies like meat.

Training of any kind keeps someone active and healthy.

That will help to keep them busy and protect them from being attacked by diseases. Diseases come early to an idle person. Even oldness will not get them early.

Life can be meaningful once again to them.

Training their own grandchildren.

Spending time with kids will help them stop thinking about their miseries.

They will also learn to keep themselves clean. Some grannies are too unhygienic.

Grannies would have little or no time to drink; they would live longer.

Disadvantages

Nothing because their future will be a little bit brighter.

Training cannot be a disadvantage.

None, because I don't think this opportunity will be given to those who are too old and sick.

I don't see any, but some might have problems assimilating knowledge because their minds are stiff due to ageing.

Those who did not go to school at all will be discouraged when failing to remember all the material taught.

Since they are too old they will quickly forget what they have been taught. As a result they will get discouraged.

It would have been better if this opportunity came while their minds were still fresh.

Oversupply of skilled people who won't be fully utilised.

Some who might still be unemployed could not believe in training.

If they don't get children to look after and they start drinking.

Walking daily on foot to the centre will worsen their poor health.

Because of their age they could die soon with all that knowledge. There will be a lack to fulfil certain duties at home, e.g. cleaning, cooking for schoolchildren, and even looking after the house.

Some of the grannies are beer drinkers, they won't be able to understand the lesson when drunk.

3.2.3 Perceived advantages of educare training for children in care

Virtually everyone in the survey foresaw definite benefits accruing to children in the educare system (cf. Table 3.7). Generally speaking, the respondents anticipated an overall improvement of the standard of childcare and its various aspects - in rough order of frequency of mention, the educational, physical, cultural and emotional development of the child. Major advantages concerned the head start which educare children would receive similar to regular crèche children, improved care of their daily physical and hygiene needs, and instruction in manners, customs and traditional lore. (Cf. Table 3.7.)

Only some ten per cent of the respondents could think of possible disadvantages if children were involved in educare. Most negative aspects were related to grannies being too old or psychologically ill-suited to looking after children. Reference was also made to the fact that children might suffer through reduced social contacts and enjoy less prestige if cared for in the home.

TABLE 3.7

PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR CHILDREN IN THE EDUCARE SYSTEM

"Will there be any advantages and disadvantages for the children if the grannies who look after them are trained?"

	%
Advantages*	
Head start, educational advantages	37
Physical health and safety	25
Learn manners, respect and love for older people	21
Generally better cared for	9
Love and happiness	4
Told stories	4
Learn handcrafts	2
Are educated at home	2
Other: minimal costs, play sports, mainly for 4-5 year olds	1
None	3
N = 298	
Disadvantages	
None	90
Children will be spoilt	4
Grannies are too old to provide adequate care	3
Grannies are impatient	1
Children will be isolated from other children at home	1
Children will be exposed to modern, bad crèche influences	1
Less prestige attached to educare than regular crèche care	-
TOTAL	100
N = 282	

* Multiple responses.

Advantages

Grannies will make children to be clever.

Kids will learn many things from granny to get their minds ready for school.

Children can easily compete with others without problems.

The children will be lucky to get the necessary educational foundation at home.

Children will learn a part of school work such as counting.

Children can obtain very good teaching from grannies which will make a huge difference to a child who does not go to a crèche.

Children will be healthier since they will be properly fed.

They would learn nursery rhymes here at home, sing and pray.

They will get to know the traditional stories which are not known to the kids of nowadays.

Children will learn to respect old people when they see they help.

Respect and obedience will come out of children.

Children will learn what is good to do and what is bad.

Disadvantages

Kids will be spoilt because grannies do not use the stick.

Those kids who are left with too old grannies will be run over by cars because grannies can't run due to stiff knees.

Grannies have poor eyesight. They won't be able to recognise when kids are playing a dangerous game.

They would have few friends, not a lot.

Kids might look down upon those who never attended crèche.

3.2.4 Perceived attitudes of parents towards educare

The respondents, the majority of whom were parents themselves, were asked to imagine how parents would react to the introduction of an educare programme in KwaMashu. The results are set out in Table 3.8. Projected reactions were for the most part extremely favourable. The majority view was that parents would appreciate the educare concept. Less than 10 % envisaged negative or mixed reactions and a further 7 % felt unable to respond to the cue. In just over 40 % of cases the respondents anticipated parents would welcome the training of grannies and would be happy to have their children cared for by trained personnel. Other respondents emphasized the importance of training grannies or improving standards of childcare, respectively. A small group of respondents highlighted the advantages of having a trained childminder in the home in terms of savings to the household, and the increased opportunities of other members to pursue work or leisure interests knowing that they need not worry about their children. Mention was also made of parents' approval of the better standards of childcare achieved through the educare programme in terms of physical, educational and cultural developments in the child.

A few respondents felt that parents would take the greatest interest in the opportunities of personal development for grannies which might be opened up by the educare programme:

It will be a blessing.

Many will encourage their parents to get this free training.

Catching up with modern times will be appreciated by every wise parent.

It's very helpful as we are bound to leave children with them whether trained or not.

Would very much like it, would even give them time to visit places like the Wild Coast with a lot of ease.

Because their children will stay with trained people similar to a crèche.

They will be very happy to have granny at home all the time who will be acting as teacher and nurse.

They will enjoy their work because they know their children are cared for by diligent people.

Happy to have an additional resourceful person in the family.

Appreciate the work they perform, regard them as assets in the community.

As parents it is nice to see grannies receive training in the type of work they have done for years.

Will feel they are giving employment to oldies.

TABLE 3.8

PROJECTIONS OF PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCARE

"What will the parents think about the grannies receiving training?"

	%
Happy to leave children with trained person/with loving person who is also trained	22
Important to train grannies	20
Convenience, savings factors related to having a trained childminder in the home	13
Proper childcare essential; there is a great need for childminders	8
Parents will enjoy peace of mind	6
Greater confidence in grannies; improved family relationships	4
Emphasis on the improved physical care and safety of children	4
Emphasis on improved educational standards in childcare	3
Emphasis on cultural instruction (manners, mores) in childcare	3
Perceived employment opportunities for grannies; happy for grannies	3
Foresee conditional approval, mixed reactions	6
Other: parents' attitudes irrelevant	1
Don't know	7
TOTAL N = 300	100

3.2.5 Attitudes towards the screening of educare trainees

A survey item probed reactions to making educare training available to younger as well as senior women. The idea found favour with the vast majority of respondents, namely 86 % (cf. Table 3.9). Reasons supplied for not limiting training opportunities to grannies included equity as well as more practical considerations. Substantial proportions felt the needs of younger women to be as great or greater than the needs of grannies. Young women also wished to be meaningfully occupied and to gain entry into the labour market after receiving training. A further practical consideration concerned the fact that younger women would be able to employ their skills longer than their seniors. A sizeable proportion of the sample felt that younger women were at least as deserving as older women, and equally suitable or more suitable persons to train.

Numerous respondents felt that as a matter of principle training opportunities should be available to all on a first come, first serve basis or on merit. A popular argument was that all women required childcare skills. A few intimated that reserving training for grandmothers was tantamount to relieving mothers of their responsibility to bring up their own children. A minority suggested that educare training might bring the two generations together in a joint venture. Mothers and grandmothers would assist each other and understand each other better if they trained together. (See Table 3.9).

Persons who were in favour of concentrating on training grannies qualified their opinion in terms of the natural aptitude and experience of grannies which made them eligible trainees. A further consideration was that grannies were free to be trained whereas younger women were usually employed.

There was a tendency for a higher proportion of members of the middle age category (31-50 years) (93 %), than members of the youngest (86 %) and oldest age categories (78 %) to recommend that women of all ages be accepted for training.

TABLE 3.9

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WHO SHOULD RECEIVE TRAINING IN EDUCARE

"Do you think that the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre should also consider training younger women who are interested and not only grannies?"

	%
Should train only grannies	14
Should train younger women as well	86
TOTAL	100
N = 301	
Qualifications for training only grannies	
Kind, loving, caring	81
Other women are or should be working, grannies are free to train and need an occupation	12
Grannies most experienced; deserving of training	3
A large proportion are mentally and physically able to cope with training requirements	2
Young people can get training elsewhere	2
TOTAL	100
N = 42	
Qualifications for also training younger women	
Open up employment opportunities for younger women	21
Training should be available to all interested women (regardless of age)	18
Younger women better able to cope with training	17
Everyone needs childminding skills	16

Table continued on next page

Table 3.9 continued

	%
Younger women will be able to employ acquired skills longer	9
Younger women can assist grannies; can work hand in hand with grannies	6
Many younger women are not employed and need an occupation	5
Anyone with the right disposition should be considered; younger women are more patient	2
Both grandmothers and mothers are suitable and deserving of training	2
Mothers, not grandmothers, should look after the children	2
There are only limited training opportunities; they should be open to all	1
There are too few grannies to fill training places	1
TOTAL N = 258	100

Grannies should be trained

Because they are kind and younger women cannot bother themselves minding children.

Young women have no time for children, they want to go dancing and to braaivleis at night.

Looking after kids is really granny's job. Younger women have to do better jobs than that.

Young people could get trained in other places, so ZamaZulu should stick to the grannies.

Young women are deceptive, they will go for the money instead of giving love and care to the kids.

Younger women should also be trained

Every unemployed person must be helped by all means.

A lot of factories are closing, therefore younger women can help themselves by minding children.

A lot of younger women have no training, so this would be their chance.

We are also unemployed and would like to keep ourselves busy. (Young female respondent)

The young ones are the actual mothers, they are young and fit, they should get the training.

Young women should have this training and gain confidence in themselves that they can look after their own babies. Young women leave their children with other people whom they think know better about children than themselves.

Young people can start more crèches and would have more energy.

Young women are able to attend meetings unlike grannies who have sore knees.

Grannies won't live forever. Sooner or later a young woman will be left with children without knowing how to take good care of them.

So that children do not suffer if one trained person is ill or something.

Everybody in the family should be able to care for the baby.

Younger women need the knowledge of childcare as well so that they can alternate with grannies.

Young women will help where grannies find difficulties.

There are more children born every day, so there should be more trained people.

Both are suitable. Grannies are more patient, younger ones are more active.

3.2.6 Attitudes towards paying for educare services

In a last section a number of items were employed to explore the issue of payment of grannies providing educare services. In earlier sections of the interview respondents spontaneously suggested that educare training would provide more informal and formal employment opportunities for trainees.

On the other hand a few respondents voiced their concern that grandmothers trained in educare would no longer look after their grandchildren free of charge as in the past.

The responses to the probes concerning payment for educare are shown in Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10

ATTITUDES TOWARDS PAYMENT FOR EDUCARE SERVICES

	%
"If grannies are properly trained to look after children, do you think they should be paid if they look after their own grand-children; if they look after other people's grandchildren?"	
Paid to look after other people's grandchildren - yes	99 *
Paid to look after own grandchildren - yes	42 *
N = 300	
* Multiple responses	
"If trained grannies are paid, should this payment cover only the costs of food for the children, or should the payment also include money for the granny?"	
Payment should be for food only	2
Payment should include money for the granny	98
TOTAL	100
N = 295	

Table continued on next page

Table 3.10 continued

		%
"Do you think many people, some people, or only a few people would be willing to pay trained grannies for minding their children?"		
Many people willing to pay trained grannies		81
Some people		5
Only a few people		14
TOTAL		100
N = 281		
Reasons why many people would be willing to pay educare childminders		
Market for childminders		45
Working people need childminding facilities	22	
Shortage of childminders	12	
Shortage of crèches	11	
Concern for children's welfare		13
To ensure children are adequately fed and looked after		3
High standard of child care		8
Indirectly increases parents' job security		5
Buys peace of mind		4
Creates jobs in the community		5
Untrained childminders are already being paid		4
Lower costs involved than with crèche care		4
Educare a good idea		4
Convenience factors		1
Other		4
TOTAL		100
N = 224		

Table continued on next page

Table 3.10 continued

	%
Reasons why only few people would be willing to pay educare childminders	
Financial problems	54
Difficult to pay a relative	16
Only employed people would require services, be able to pay	12
Worry of childminders	4
Other	12
Don't know	2
TOTAL	100
N = 49	

Almost without exception the respondents felt that trained grannies should receive payment not only for looking after other people's children but also their own grandchildren. The respondents agreed unanimously that payment should include a honorarium for the childminder and should not only cover the costs of feeding the child in care.

Lastly, the respondents were asked if, in their opinion, many, some, or only few people would be willing to pay trained childminders' fees. Some 80 % estimated that many people would show their willingness to pay for childminding services if childminders were trained. Respondents qualified their responses with reference to the high demand for childcare services. A substantial group intimated that payment was due for high quality service or alternatively such a service could be demanded if payment were made. A further related aspect was that peace of mind concerning one's children's welfare was worth any financial expenditure. Working mothers could concentrate on their jobs and need not fear any interruptions, say in the case of a child being sick, which might jeopardize their chances of retaining their jobs. A small percentage made reference to the additional convenience and lower costs involved in children being cared for in the home rather than in a crèche. A small number of respondents argued that people were already paying un-

trained childminders and therefore would not hesitate to pay for more professional services.

The minority group which felt that only a few people would be willing to pay for childminders drew attention to the fact that township people were experiencing financial difficulties. The number of employed people who required childminding services and would be willing to pay for them was decreasing. An important factor was that some people experienced difficulties in paying their relatives for work in the home. A few respondents intimated that individual childminding services might be less trouble-free than crèche services and would attract a smaller clientele.

4

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF CARE OF THE ELDERLY

In western-industrial societies the current ideal is to keep senior citizens in the community as long as possible and only to resort to institutional care in the case of the frail aged. This solution is viewed as serving the social integration needs of the elderly best, and more and more effort is being expended to make it a technically feasible and financially attractive one for all concerned. In traditional society care of the elderly was a non-issue in the sense that all members of the extended family expected to support each other throughout the life-course. However, in urban areas the mutual support system has been severely disrupted. Economic and housing factors have shaped a lifestyle in black townships which makes it increasingly difficult to integrate seniors in the community. Until recently the concept of institutional care of the elderly was a foreign one among blacks. However, earlier empirical research suggests that the concept is rapidly gaining currency.

This section explores the concept of the old-age home and the service centre as it is understood by residents of KwaMashu. The assumption was made that KwaMashu residents would model their ideas of care of the elderly on the existing facilities available in their community. Therefore the old-age home was employed as the reference concept for framing survey items in the hope that it would be sufficiently familiar to all to elicit meaningful responses.

4.1 Attitudes towards institutional care

A first item explored general attitudes towards institutional care and its significance for the community. Respondents were asked if they considered old-age homes useful or if they disapproved of them. The results are shown in Table 4.1. The institutional concept was accepted by almost all members of the sample. This finding supports Chinkanda's 1987 finding that the majorities of urban blacks in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal triangle did not consider the care of the aged the responsibility of the family and would want to live in a home for the aged when the time came.

60

In the KwaMashu study, a closer reading of the respondents' qualifications of their approval suggests that institutionalisation is not considered a general solution. The frail and the indigent aged would be priority cases. If this interpretation holds then the respondents' conceptions of selective institutional care would by and large conform to official state policy as regards the care of the elderly.

The most common basis of approval for the old-age home was that it would fulfil the basic needs of the elderly: old people were provided with a roof over their heads, were fed wholesome, nourishing food, were clothed, and were kept clean. Generally speaking old people were well cared for. Specific mention was made of the provision of health care and nursing services. (Cf. Table 4.1.)

Less frequently respondents also referred to access to recreational facilities and occupational therapy which promoted personal development. A common view was that the old-age home provided superior professional care for the elderly not available in individual homes.

The security factor appears to be another important image dimension. Respondents variously described the old-age home as a haven for the unwanted or abused or for those who in terms of chronological age had earned the privilege to rest after toil in order to lead a carefree and peaceful existence. The old-age home is seen to provide financial and physical security for the elderly.

Small percentages justified institutional rather than home care with reference to the fact that old people enjoyed living together with age peers and were happy in old-age homes.

A widely accepted view was that old-age homes catered mainly for the marginal elderly: the homeless and the neglected, the poor and those who have no relatives in town. A common argument put forward by the respondents stated that townsfolk are no longer in a position to give adequate attention and care to their old people because all members of the household are at work or at school. Taking this argument to its logical conclusion, one must deduce that most elderly persons in a township setting are neglected and are therefore, by definition, in need of institutional care.

TABLE 4.1

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OLD-AGE HOMES

"Some town people think old-age homes are useful. Other town people disapprove of old-age homes. How do you feel?"

	%
Approval; old-age homes useful	96
Qualified approval	1
Disapproval	2
Don't know much	1
TOTAL	100
N = 301	
Qualifications: Perceived function of the old-age home*	
Attends to basic needs of the elderly	41
Old people are well cared for	20
For the homeless, neglected, those without children	17**
Provides medical, health care	13
Professional, reliable care of the aged	12
Most town people work and have no time to give adequate care to their aged	12
Protection and security for old people	9
Recreational, occupational therapy	7
Alternative old-age care in problem cases	7
Social contact with age peers	6
For the poor	4
Old people are happy in old-age homes	4
Peace and quiet, opportunity to rest	3
Equal services for all	2
Negative factors: fosters neglect of the aged on the part of the family; impersonal, uncaring treatment of the aged	2**
Don't know	1
Other: includes meals-on-wheels services	3
N = 294	

* Multiple responses.

** Estimated average calculated on the basis of single and multiple responses.

A related idea is that old-age homes provide a welcome form of alternative care in problem cases where elderly parents are difficult or children abuse the old folk. Thus, institutional care is seen to function as a safety valve to ease the intergenerational tensions caused by a township lifestyle.

Cutting across the dimensions described above was approval of the charitable work carried out by personnel in old-age homes. Institutional care is thought to be superior not only in terms of standards of hygiene and efficiency but also in providing the love and sympathy for old folk which seems to have vanished from modern homes:

They are useful since they provide clean accommodation, good food with vitamins and good treatment by trained people.

You are safe, well accommodated, well fed and even happy because you stay with other old people.

Old people stay very well and always safe. Old people are not scolded. Old people are always taken out for visits in a combi. Old people are always clean and stay at a clean place.

They are minded all the time.

At home they are the victims of negligence because family members are all working and children are at school. At the old-age home they are offered Christmas presents and given a party to please them. They are pleased to keep each other company.

These centres are looked after by people who are trustworthy and honest. Most love community work and have specialised in it. Grannies feel more comfortable there.

Those older people who stay in their homes get fed at the (old-age) home and then driven back to their homes. They arrive home filled of the meals obtained from the old-age home.

They are in good health because they are prevented from drinking Zulu beer or liquor.

All these people are grouped together. They learn and change from bad habits; they develop a lot on their own as a group.

People don't just stay there, they develop a lot of skills, which they cannot develop in our ordinary homes.

Although young couples love their parents, they cannot keep to the standards needed by grannies. It's better that they stay happily in a place where they'll meet other old people.

I like the old-age home. It's safe, it's clean, they are kept clean which is not the case at home, and healthwise, there are nurses at such homes, whereas at home, money is not always there.

Old-age homes help people without relatives and friends. Most needy people are protected and well cared for.

We know a lot of old people who have no relatives. We cannot just kill them. We need homes for our loved grannies to stay so that they can also feel they have a home.

Old-age homes have the necessary facilities to keep old people happy. Our homes have not even the people to stay at home and take care of them.

We leave them in the house when they can hardly make tea for themselves. They starve until we come back. Old-age homes are best.

Nowadays everybody goes to work in the family, nobody can afford to stay at home and look after granny.

We must admit that we as their children have failed to keep them, so its better to take them to the old-age home.

Our wives are not prepared to look after our ageing mothers, so it is better that they stay at these homes and only visit the family once in a while.

Old-age homes allow young people to work, even shiftwork.

Old-age homes provide more opportunity for work rather than remaining at home to look after an old person. Young members of families are able to work (grandmother, 70 years).

These modern people fail to maintain their parents.

Old people tend to be a burden to children. They are also short tempered through oldness.

When you are old you become a burden to children. Today's children are impatient and incapable. (Fifty-seven year old respondent.)

In our homes we have a tendency of overworking grannies, showing no concern for them.

I feel that nowadays they (old-age homes) are very good because most people have no heart to care for their old ones.

Young people are not good to stay with old people so the old-age home gives the lost love to grannies.

Sometimes there are old people who are badly treated in their own families. They are even robbed of their pension. You realise that an old lady is maintaining her daughter's illegitimate children with her pension.

They are helpful because they provide safety for the aged. These aged who stay in their own home have a danger of being robbed of their money by the township tsotsis.

I don't even want to hear of them. They influence children to dump their old people. They make old people live under strange conditions because they don't get what they need at the right time. Everything goes according to a timetable.

Higher percentages in the younger than the older generation spontaneously mentioned that the modern township family had no time to tend to the needs of the elderly (14 % of parents vs 7 % of grandparents, N=34), regarded institutionalisation as an attractive alternative to home care (8 % vs 4 %, N=20) and stated that residents in old-age homes were usually happy and

contented (6 % vs 1 %, N=12). However, caution is in order when making inferences from these findings because numbers are small and statistical tests of significance cannot be applied for technical reasons.

4.2 The image of the old-age centre in KwaMashu

A second section in the questionnaire was designed to test the respondents' awareness of the old-age centre in their community in order to assess to what extent general attitudes toward the care of the elderly had been influenced by personal experience and knowledge of the actual provision of care in KwaMashu. Respondents were also invited to assess the services provided by the centre and make suggestions for improvements.

When asked if they knew of the centre, approximately one-fifth replied they had not heard of the centre, a further fifth stated they knew it served as an old-age home, and 12 % had heard of the centre but knew very little about it (cf. Table 4.2). Fifty per cent of the respondents were able to supply the local designation of the centre. The most popular names for the centre were its official name - the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre, or ZamaZulu for short; the Zulu for old-age home, and the old ladies' or the granny home. No area differences were observed.

The majority of the respondents only knew of the centre through hearsay. Less than 5 %, respectively, volunteered that they had heard of the centre through the media or had visited the centre themselves. However, approximately one-fifth spontaneously passed a positive comment on the centre while only 3 % of recall was negative. Again no differences were observed between persons living close by or far away from the centre. (Cf. Table 4.2.)

The next item probed respondents' knowledge of the services provided by the centre. The majority spontaneously associated the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre with accommodation and care of the aged, particularly the frail aged. Care included the provision of meals, activities for residents, and health and hygiene services (cf. Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.2

AWARENESS OF THE OLD-AGE CENTRE IN KWAMASHU

"Have you ever heard of the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre? What all have you heard about the centre? For instance, what do people in your own area in KwaMashu call the centre?"

		%
Knowledge of the local designation for the centre		50
The ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre	22	
Ikaya labadala: old-age home, hostel	19	
Ezalukwazini: old ladies' home	4	
Ikaya logogo: granny home	3	
Welfare centre	1	
Other: Old Age Christian Care Society, YMCA	1	
Heard of the centre only		12
Has a general knowledge of the function of the centre		19
Not heard of the centre		19
TOTAL		100
N = 302		
Only knows of its existence		8
Knows of the centre through hearsay		57
Knows of its location		4
Reference to the construction or opening of the centre		4
Heard of the centre in the media: radio, TV, newspaper		3
Vicarious experience of the centre		2
Personal visit to the centre, worked there		2
Positive appreciation of the centre's work		8
Reference to good care for the aged		9
Negative or mixed reactions		3
TOTAL		100
N = 302		

TABLE 4.3

KNOWLEDGE OF THE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE IN KWAMASHU

"What type of services does the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre provide?"

	%*
Shelter and accommodation	56
Care of the aged, frail care	40
Meals, free meals	37
Recreational facilities, occupational activities	17
Health care, health services	16
Hygienic services: ablution facilities, laundry services; clean environment	12
Financial assistance; free services	4
Pension payout point; pension advice	3
Day care	3
Distribution of clothing and blankets in the community	2
Love and affection for the elderly	2
Meals-on-wheels	2
Safety and security	2
Church services	1
Transport services	1
Other community outreach	1
Accommodation for the disabled	1
N = 302	

* Multiple responses.

Less than 5 % in each case made mention of extra mural activities and outreach projects, and the fact that the centre serves as a pension pay-out point. However, it appeared to be known that health services are available to persons in the community as well as residents. Only a few persons mentioned the meals-on-wheels service by name but the fact that a substantial proportion emphasised that food was provided free of charge may indicate that this project is better known than appears superficially. Similarly, very few persons

made specific reference to the day care centre. We shall return to these points later.

Only sixteen per cent of the respondents stated that members of their family, or neighbours or friends known to them used the services of the centre (cf. Table 4.4). A further three-quarters stated that they knew of no one, and the remainder said they were not aware if people in their circle of acquaintances used the services. The relatively large number of "don't know" responses suggests that the centre and its services are remote issues in the lives of a fair number of respondents.

TABLE 4.4

USE OF THE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE

"Do any members of your family, neighbours or friends use the services of the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre?"

	%
Yes	16
No	73
Don't know	11
TOTAL	100
N = 293	

As might be expected a slightly higher but statistically insignificant percentage of older than younger persons stated they had persons in their ken who made use of the services provided by the old-age centre:

Never heard of name but know of the old-age home situated in J Section.

I know only the building and I have seen the car which transports the old-age people.

Yes I have heard of the old-age home in J-section, but not of the ZamaZulu Nkosi. People call it ikaya logogo. It accommodates our old people, grannies and grandpas.

If it's the home near the YWCA, it accommodates old people and helps them with handwork.

Some people call it ZamaZulu, especially nurses, but otherwise it is commonly known as the grannies' home.

I have heard of it, the people of KwaMashu call it ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre which is an old-age home for old Zulu people. It provides accommodation, food and encourages old people to have a bath every day.

Grannies recommend the old-age home, that they stay well.

I am not sure but the home for the aged accommodates old people who have no relatives or friends.

It is where they stay, especially very old ones unable to do things on their own.

One granny nearby was helped by that home because she was neglected by her children and they were even taking her pension money.

I have heard about it as a place that keeps older people who get pension so that they pay the home. But everything is found at this home.

Grannies staying at ZamaZulu Nkosi no longer go to pension points, they get it right there at the old age. This is the best service as every old person worries about her security on pension day.

Heard of it, that it teaches old people manual work and gives them skills.

Old people get welcome games. Receive church services, receive clothes. It cultivates and plants vegetables.

Everything is done for old people, e.g. washing, cooking. It's like a small hotel for them.

They stay peacefully because I suppose they have no compulsory work to do, everything is done for them willingly.

They watch TV; they receive tea in bed.

They care for old people even at their home; cook food and deliver it to them.

Image aspects

It goes round giving some old people food.

I have gone to see it, to take some people there. It's very clean. It provides accommodation. It also provides sewing or reading glasses for old ladies, not only for those staying there but for others as well.

Some grannies see it as their school to learn handwork.

It is the only place here at KwaMashu that extends love to old people without profit. Gives food and medicines free to all grannies.

I once went to that centre and we were taken to the beach by buses. The centre is generally clean. We were treated very well.

Although I have not seen it, I imagine a huge dining room and several bedrooms.

I think it's a huge place with a lot of beds, and many dishes, and nurses to take care of old people (respondent, 25 years).

I hear people visiting there saying it's a very good place. I think old people even play games and sing and dance like children (granny, 84 years).

People doing a lot of physical training to keep them fit (granny, 70 years).

A last probe into the image projected by the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre asked respondents to define what the centre stood for. Just under one-quarter of the sample felt unable to complete the task. Others tended to give a literal translation of the name of the centre (cf. Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5

IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ZAMAZULU NKOSI CENTRE

"What do you think the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre stands for? Can you tell us in your own words?"

	%
Assistance to the aged; old-age home	36
Named after its founder Matron Nkosi, carries out ideals of founder	24
Emphasis on Zulu character of project	22
Community development, self help	18
TOTAL	100
N = 225*	

* Excluding "don't know" responses.

It is evident that many image associations produced by the respondents were prompted by the name of the centre. A crude attempt to group the responses into broad categories yielded the following results: A quarter associated the centre with the work of the Matron Nkosi after whom the centre is named. A further quarter, possibly prompted by the name of the centre and its founder, emphasised the essentially Zulu nature of the centre: a project for Zulus by Zulus. It is possible that a very small number of persons associated the project with a divine inspiration in association with the Zulu term for the heavens; alternatively this association was simply a play on words. The modal category (37 %) identified the centre's main objective as being assistance to the aged, mainly older women, or simply defined the centre as an old-age home. Just under one-fifth (18 %) believed the centre stood for assistance and selfhelp in the broader sense of community development.

The Zulu image appears to be strongest among older persons (30 % of 51+ years vs 15 % of < 30 years, N = 49), and the less educated (29 % of < Std 6 vs 14 % of Std 7+). The more general image of the old-age home is more pronounced in the survey category of persons living far away from the centre (48 % vs 15 % living closest to the centre), as is the more personal association with the work of the Matron Nkosi among persons living in close prox-

imity to the centre (40 % vs 14 % living furthest from the centre). The community development association was more characteristic of the younger category (32 % vs 7 % of 51+ years), and the better educated (22 % of Std 7+ vs 14 % of < Std 6):

It derived from Matron Nkosi who is at the polyclinic who went about looking for collections to have the ZamaZulu established. So it was given her name.

ZamaZulu stands for light. It has brought so much to us. Before it was built the polyclinic was always full of old ladies. Some were very dirty and hungry. ZamaZulu has washed these ladies. I have seen them. They are so clean, and you can see that they are proud of themselves and their home.

From the founder Matron Nkosi of the polyclinic who was our neighbour until she moved to D Section.

Although I have not met Matron Nkosi, but everybody says she is the founder of the old-age home, thus called ZamaZulu Nkosi.

It is a challenge to any African woman. Because it was started by an African woman.

It means the Zulus are making efforts to develop themselves and to remind them that they are Zulus.

ZamaZulu Nkosi means development in KwaMashu because there are lots of places which do not have old-age homes.

It means development in our township like in the white areas.

It signifies that the Zulus are now trying to improve their living from infancy up to the old-age pension. Cleanliness, peaceful place.

It is assistance in the community. It keeps old people while the younger people are at work.

It is the love of the Zulu people.

I think it means that the Zulu people are trying on their own to help their aged people.

It stands for Zulu people, they must all come and contribute, as it is theirs.

ZamaZulu Nkosi is a place that takes care of old-age orphans.

It means that whenever I become needy I will get assistance.

Means a lot of joy to me because it says there is a place to care for my own mother-in-law and other grannies.

It is the place that has given us relief by taking care of old people which we have failed to keep.

4.3 Knowledge and assessment of the existing services provided by the old-age centre

Following a brief description of the three services provided by the old-age centre - accommodation for the frail aged, meals-on-wheels and day care, the respondents were asked if they had heard of the services. A further item called for a priority rating of the services in terms of their usefulness to the old people of KwaMashu.

TABLE 4.6

KNOWLEDGE OF THREE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE

"At present the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre offers some accommodation for old and frail people; meals-on-wheels and home nursing care for old people living in their homes (some children also receive meals); and a day care centre where old people can meet regularly. Which of these services have you heard of?"

	%
Accommodation	82
Day care centre	60
Meals-on-wheels	45

Table 4.6 shows that comprehensive care services supplied by the centre were best known (82 %), the meals-on-wheels service least known (45 %), with the day care services (60 %) falling somewhere in between. Older persons (68% of the 51+ years category vs 51 % in the <30 year category), and persons living nearby (64 %) rather than far away (61 %), were significantly more likely to have heard of the day care services provided by the centre.

The assessment of the usefulness of the services provided by the centre followed a different pattern with accommodation rating first, meals-on-wheels a close second, and the day care services far behind. The respondents were asked to qualify their assessment (cf. Table 4.7 bottom).

TABLE 4.7

COMMUNITY PRIORITY RATING OF THREE SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE OLD-AGE CENTRE

"Which of the (services offered by the centre) do you think is most useful for old people in KwaMashu? Which is second most useful?"

Service	Most useful %	Second priority %	Lowest priority %	Overall rank
Accommodation	48	32	20	1
Meals-on-wheels	40	44	16	2
Day care centre	12	23	64	3
TOTAL N = 293	100	100	100	

Qualifications, criteria underlying assessment		%
Basic need		35
Needs of the elderly neglected; homeless		21
Time factors		10
full-time care	8	
part-time care allowing old people to live at home	2	
Comprehensive service, many services rolled in one		7
Promotes health and longevity		6
Quality of the care/food provided		5
Savings involved; financial assistance		5

Table continued on next page

Table 4.7 continued

	%
Safety aspects	3
Social-emotional factors	3
Relief for township families living in crowded conditions	2
Other	3
TOTAL	100
N = 299	

Meals-on-wheels appeared to be a higher priority for persons living in the Richmond Farm shack area and in neighbourhoods where children were usually not placed in crèches. These findings suggest economic considerations may be of paramount importance here. Accommodation and meal services were rated a high priority as they catered for basic existential needs which were life-sustaining. In many instances the elderly were totally neglected or at least during the day. Reference was made to the quality of the services provided which might surpass that which could be provided in the home and which promoted the health of the elderly. A further important factor was the savings that were incurred by the free services supplied by the centre. In some cases of hardship old people would simply have to do without food or shelter. In the case of full board or day care many needs of the elderly were attended to. The fact that old people were provided with a nutritious meal, shared the company of other people and were given an outside interest were considered very important aspects of day care services. Concern for safety was an important criterion in the case of full-time care and day care:

Accommodation

Accommodation is problem number one in the townships. Anyone who offers it is blessed.

Food is available at all times rather than at home where a person could be left with one plate of food and when this meal is finished he or she is unable to help herself to another meal.

Because they need everything, clothes, food and unless they stay there they can never get it all.

Everything is provided at the old-age home unlike at home. There is no money to buy everything.

Because that saves money for them since they do not have enough money to look after themselves.

Because old people are not safe in this unrest situation of KwaMashu. They risk being burnt inside these township houses. So it is better when they are kept in one place made specially for them.

They enjoy having a home to stay; we also take pride in knowing that they are safe.

Because it is difficult for those older people who stay in their homes to travel daily to the centre because they have trouble with their knees. It is better for them to be kept there and to let relatives visit them in the centre.

Most of the older people have irresponsible children who are troublesome to them. So it is much better if older people stay in the old-age home.

When you are old younger people do not like you (respondent, 52 years).

Meals-on-wheels

No meals, no life.

Without food these grannies might die of hunger.

Grannies are earning bi-monthly. Therefore it is very difficult for them to buy food themselves.

Most grannies do not receive meals in their families' homes, they are given left-overs.

So that their illegitimate grandchildren will get fed because these children have no one to maintain them.

Day care

Because they would enjoy going to this place in the morning and staying with relatives later in the day.

Already they are divided into two. There are those who are totally homeless and those who have a home. Therefore those who have a home are better cared for during the day while their children are at work. This will enable the old-age home to accommodate only those who do not have a home.

Because they will be able to get food in the centre. If food is delivered to them in their homes they do not eat it. It is eaten by their daughter's illegitimate children, and the old people remain with nothing.

During the day there are many dangers that might harm me if I am alone at home, e.g. violence in the townships (granny, 69 years).

4.4 Suggestions for improved services

The respondents were invited to make recommendations for improving the existing services of the old-age centre. The results are set out in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVED SERVICES

"Do you know of any way in which the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre could improve its existing services or extend them to meet the needs of old people in KwaMashu more adequately?"

	%
Extend premises, provide more accommodation	34
Fundraising, gain support of the community	12
Public awareness campaign; high profile activities for the elderly	4
More recreation, training, learning, earning opportunities for grannies	8
Continue to provide high quality, inexpensive services	5
More trained personnel	3
Decentralised services: more centres, mobile services	3
More health services, mobile health services	2

Table continued on next page

Table 4.8 continued

	%
Clothing handouts	2
Assistance with pension issues	1
Other: crèche, youth centre, training in care of the aged, free transport to the centre, activities for older men, burial society services, assistance for disabled persons	3
Existing services sufficient	3
Don't know	20
TOTAL N = 302	100

Approximately a quarter of the respondents were unable to make any recommendations or felt that services were adequate. A further third recommended that the centre extend its premises in order to accommodate a larger number of persons. The respondents appeared to be aware that the extension of services would involve large sums of money. A substantial proportion urged the centre to step up its fund-raising campaign and also enlist local assistance in order to raise funds for the centre in the community. It was suggested that a community awareness campaign and popular activities for old folk in the community would improve the image of the centre and possibly attract additional community support. Further recommendations which received substantial support included additional recreational and training opportunities for the elderly and decentralised services, especially health and home care services. A tendency was observed for persons living in neighbourhoods far from the centre to emphasize decentralised and community services, and for older persons to recommend more training opportunities:

Presently it does not cope with the number of old people.

The building is very small. They should extend the building and employ more people so as to really satisfy the KwaMashu community.

Accommodate more grannies especially those at welfare in B section.

I suggest it opens some other branches in other sections of KwaMashu to prevent overcrowding.

We in the community can collect some funds and donations. These donations can be used for extending the buildings to help other grannies.

It must organise people to come to us to collect. We will donate as we are proud of ZamaZulu.

That money can buy blankets, air freshener and food.

They can ask donations from the factories in Durban - even outside Durban.

It can be sponsored by businessmen, taxi owners, and even workmen can make donations.

Organise with some of the football clubs some matches at Princess Magogo stadium, the takings to go to ZamaZulu Nkosi. To negotiate with other churches if they can contribute some funds.

The officials of the centre should establish a fund-raising competition by giving out something like a car so that people from the community will donate money.

The money that people donate can be used to meet the needs of the old people as well as disabled people.

Grannies must make handcraft to sell for ZamaZulu. That money will help buy food, beds, blankets and clothes and even extend to help other grannies.

I think they should encourage the community to participate in their events so that the centre gets to be known more.

It should arrange some outings for the older people as it is done in the white community.

Have an article in the newspaper at least once a year so that everybody gets to know about it.

They should teach the old people handwork as it happens in white aged homes.

Train more unemployed people in health and first aid at ZamaZulu.

It can open a centre to train those who are interested in minding old people.

It can construct a crèche for young children, feed them together with old people and also give them health services.

Should lower their prices as people pay out of their pensions.

The centre should see to it that the meals delivered to the older people in their (homes) really get to them.

It should offer free medical aid to those aged who stay in their homes. It should also provide an ambulance for them in case of emergency.

4.5 Attractive features of the day care programme

Spontaneous reactions to probes concerning the old-age centre's services and activities reviewed so far suggest that, in the opinion of the majority of the respondents, day care is a lesser priority. However, as mentioned earlier, the fact that fewer KwaMashu residents were aware of the day care programme may have influenced the low priority rating. The small group which rated day care as a high priority referred to the fact that many basic needs and services were provided to the elderly who would otherwise be uncared for or socially isolated during the day when their families were away at work or at school. It was an attractive option for families who wished to keep their elderly parents at home.

An item which was put to the respondents later in the interview, probed the salience of the needs which the day care programme aims to meet. The respondents were asked to select the two most attractive aspects of the programme for elderly participants. The results are shown in Table 4.9. Skills training was rated as by far the most attractive feature, followed by safety considerations. Further attractive features, which received a substantial percentage of votes, were health care, attendance of church services, and earning opportunities. Rated of lesser importance were the midday meals and various social activities and opportunities for social interaction. (See Table 4.9).

The older group in the sample (51+ years and grandparents) tended to rate opportunities for personal development (skills training, earning opportunities, knowledge transfer to the young) and fulfilment of social emotional needs (church services, company of older people, singing) as higher priorities, while the younger group (parents, < 51 years) perceived basic physical and health needs (safety, meals, health services) to be the most attractive features. For example, 75 % of parents but only 52 % of grandparents rated aspects of physical care as the most attractive features. Conversely, all grandparents but

only 94 % of parents voted for social and personal development features. However, these differences are not statistically significant.

TABLE 4.9

MOST ATTRACTIVE ASPECTS OF THE DAY CARE PROGRAMME

"The social centre at ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre is open to all old people in KwaMashu. The centre's programme includes a number of aspects which I will read to you. Please tell us which of these things are the most attractive ones which make old people want to come to the social centre: A quiet and safe place for old people; learning new skills like crocheting, knitting for women, carpentry for men; singing; company of other older people; making things to sell; playing games and telling stories to small children; receiving a meal; can attend church services; health services are provided."

	%*
Skills training	34
Peaceful, safe environment	16
Health services	12
Church services	12
Produce to sell	10
Meals	6
Interaction with children	5
Company of other old people	4
Singing	1
N = 301	

* Multiple responses: respondents were asked to select two options.

Community reactions differ somewhat in emphasis from those obtained from the actual users of the day care centre. A parallel survey conducted by Naidoo (1988) among the 22 women attending the service centre during the period September-October 1988 revealed that health services (48 %) were by far the major attraction. Other important factors included the company of other older people (29 %), absence of a care person during the day (19 %), skills training (14 %), and concern for one's safety (10 %). The opportunity

to learn new skills appeared to be an important but not the dominant motivation to use the centre. Nevertheless, every second respondent indicated that she had in fact learnt new skills at the centre. Respondents took pride in their handwork which also provided an extra source of independent income.

4.6 A mandate for the old-age centre to provide accommodation for the disabled

Spontaneous reactions received in the course of the interview suggested that care of the aged and the disabled were perceived to be closely related concepts. It is possible that the frail aged are regarded as members of the disabled category, including all age groups. One or two references were made to the old-age home providing transport for the frail aged in wheelchairs to church services. There also appeared to be some confusion between the vehicles used by the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre and the Cripple Care organisation. A number of respondents, when speaking of the job opportunities which might be opened up by the educare programme, envisaged that trainees would later be able to find employment in a crèche or centre for the physically disabled.

So far the ZamaZulu Centre has focused exclusively on the care of the frail and indigent aged. Plans are underway to increase the accommodation for older persons in need of a home. The question arises whether the centre should restrict admission to old people or if the centre should also make accommodation available to other deserving categories which cannot find shelter elsewhere. An item included in the questionnaire schedule towards the end of the interview probed the attitudes of the respondents on this issue.

Table 4.10 shows that over 90 % of the respondents felt that the old-age centre should also cater for the needs of the disabled. Respondents supporting this viewpoint argued that the disabled were equally neglected or more so than the aged, and in need of care, and that there were too few organisations to meet the demand. The disabled were in need of training so that they could gain employment and restore their self-esteem. Both groups, the aged and the disabled, were burdens to their families, therefore alternatives to home care would be welcome.

The small minority which felt that the old-age centre in KwaMashu should continue to concentrate its efforts in the field of care for the aged qualified

their viewpoint by referring to the other organisations which specialised in care for the disabled. The ZamaZulu Centre would require different facilities and specially trained personnel if it were to extend its services to the disabled. Persons with a higher standard of education (15 % of respondents with at least Std 7 vs 5 % of those with Std 6 or less) were more likely than others to support this viewpoint.

TABLE 4.10

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE OLD-AGE CENTRE ALSO PROVIDING ACCOMMODATION FOR THE DISABLED

"Last year was the year of the disabled. Do you think it would be a good thing for the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre to also provide limited accommodation for disabled persons (say for about six persons) even if these persons are young people; or do you think the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre should rather concentrate on looking after the needs of the elderly?"

	%
Also care for the disabled	91
Focus on the needs of the elderly	9
TOTAL	100
N = 299	
Qualifications	
Also care for the disabled:	
Disabled also in need of care and assistance	38
Shortage of cripple care centres, organisations catering to the needs of the disabled	17
The disabled neglected	9
Need for training for self-help, to boost self-confidence	9

Table continued on next page

Table 4.10 continued

	%
Shortage of accommodation for both groups	7
Disabled more in need of assistance than the aged	4
Disabled/the aged/both groups a burden to their families	4
To ensure that physical and safety needs of disabled are met	4
Focus on care of the aged:	
Other organisations care for the disabled	3
Separate homes are needed	1
Staff is not qualified to care for both groups	1
Aged more in need of services than the disabled	1
Other	2
TOTAL	100
N = 291	

There is little evidence to suggest that the respondents consider the needs of the disabled greater than those of the elderly. However, there appears to be a general consensus that the needs of the disabled and the elderly, and those of their respective caregivers, converge and could be served by the same welfare agency. If the situation arose where the existing organisations could not cope with the demand for care for the disabled the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre could usefully fill the gap.

5

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE ELDERLY IN SOCIETY

A series of items in the last section of the questionnaire schedule focused on issues relating to the changing role of the elderly in society. The respondents were requested to state whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements concerning the care of the aged, their integration in the community, and their prestige, status and relationships between the generations.

The results set out in Table 5.1 appear to be fairly consistent with the ones obtained in reply to open-ended probes in the survey. This may be taken as an indication that the results of the exercise are as reliable and valid as can be expected in a superficial poll of this nature.

5.1 Care of the aged

According to the survey results care of the aged is best left to the experts. Eighty per cent of the respondents agreed with this viewpoint and only 56 % felt "it is better for children to care for their parents even if they are not trained to look after old people".

Further analysis shows that the younger generation and persons who believe in institutional care for their children feel expert care is the ideal solution for care of the older generation. (See Table 5.1).

Above-average agreement with the statement recommending expert rather than family care for the aged (sample average = 80 %) was observed in the categories under 30 years (85 % vs 51 % of 51+ years), parent generation (83% vs 72 % of grandparents), employed (84 % vs 58 % of pensioners); crèche care for children preferred (84 % vs 68 % preference for granny caregivers). Above-average disagreement (sample average = 56 %) with the item stating children should care for their parents even if not trained in care

of the aged was received from persons in the categories under 30 years (65 % vs 45 % of 51+ years), crèche care for children preferred (59 % vs 48 % preference for granny caregivers).

TABLE 5.1

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE ELDERLY IN FAMILY AND SOCIETY

"Here are some things that people say about older people. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"

	Agree %	Disagree %
Care of the aged		
It is better for older people to be looked after by the experts than by their family	80	20
It is better for children to care for their parents even if they are not trained to look after old people	44	56
Social integration		
Old people should be encouraged to be active and do things for themselves and other people	87	13
Older people who are active are happier than old people who just sit around	84	16
It is dignified for old people to sit and rest most of the time	65	35
Old people are generally incapable of doing things for themselves	53	47
Older people can do useful things especially if they receive training	98	2
Old people can take on many useful tasks in the home and save money for the family	94	6
Old people tend to be financial burdens to the family	47	53

Table continued on next page

Table 5.1 continued

	Agree %	Disagree %
Social prestige		
Most old people are kind and loving	95	5
Older people do not deserve to be respected unless they are fulfilling a useful role	14	86
Children can no longer learn many things from old people because young people can learn most things from books	83	17
here is not much respect for older people these days because children are not taught manners	81	19
There is not much respect for older people these days because they can't fulfil useful roles in town	41	59
Intergenerational role conflict		
Older people usually know best how to head the household	95	5
Older people should become more involved in community affairs	82	18
Older people should stand back and let younger people take charge of community affairs	27	73
Older people should hand over the responsibility for family affairs to their grown-up children	50	50
Resources allocation to generations		
It is our duty to care for and respect old people, so we should see that there are enough facilities for them	100	-
There are very few older people in society but many young people, so more efforts should be made to provide facilities for young people than old people	80	20

5.2 Social integration

The respondents generally appeared to support an active role for the elderly, especially when it is in the interests of the family. Over four-fifths agreed that "old people should be encouraged to be active and do things for themselves" and "older people who are active are happier" than inactive people. The vast majority also believed that old people could do useful things in the home if trained and could save money for the family. Only a slight majority of 53 % was of the opinion that old people are not a financial burden to their families. At the same time small majorities also agreed that "it is dignified for old people to sit and rest most of the time" and "old people are generally incapable of doing things for themselves". Taken together, the results suggest that the activity role for the elderly is prescribed in those situations where the interests of the family are best served by active elderly. Traditional role models which prescribe less physical exertion and negative stereotypes depicting the elderly as dependent and incompetent may appear to contradict the prescribed activity role in the first instance. However, the respondents may have made a distinction between normative role models and adaptation to practical requirements.

The survey evidence is suggestive that respondents who set store by institutional solutions for care of the young and the elderly subscribe to the disengagement role model for the elderly, while persons who support the active role of the elderly believe in the competence and resourcefulness of older people. (For a fuller discussion of this point see Møller, 1988.)

Above-average percentages of persons who indicated that crèches provide better childcare than grannies do also felt it is dignified for old people to sit and rest most of the time (69 % vs 56 % recommending granny as caregiver), did not agree that old people should be encouraged to be active (15 % vs 7%), did not agree that old people can perform useful tasks for the family and incur savings (7 % vs 2 %), but believed that old people are generally incapable of doing things for themselves (57% vs 43%).

5.3 Social prestige

The pattern of reactions obtained in response to items figuring under this heading intimate that the respondents felt that older people - who are generally thought to be of a pleasant disposition - are deserving of unqualified re-

spect. The fact that older people may find difficulty in fulfilling a useful role in an urban-industrial setting should not detract from the fact that respect is due. One may assume that cases of agreement with the following statements are meant to be statements of fact rather than an expression of approval: respect for the elderly is lacking owing to children not being taught manners and agreement that children learn from books rather than from their forebears.

The older and less educated categories appear to be more aware of the factors which may undermine the highly-esteemed role of the elderly in traditional society.

Eighty-eight per cent of grandparents as against 80 % of parents, and 87 % of the less educated as against 78 % of the better educated agreed that children could learn more from books than from their grandparents. A higher percentage of persons who stated a preference for crèche care (83 %) than persons who preferred grannies as childminders (74 %) felt there was no respect for older people because children were not taught manners. Persons with lower educational attainment tended to agree more often than others that there was no respect for older people because of the lack of suitable roles (46% vs 35 %) and that respect was not due unless older people served in a useful role (17 % vs 9 %).

5.4 Intergenerational role conflict

The survey findings reflect a strong belief in the traditional authority role of elders in society. Alternatively, the findings may be interpreted as indicative of support for the social integration of the elderly in society and the activity role for seniors. Almost all respondents agreed that "older people usually know best how to head the household"; four-fifths felt older people should be involved in community affairs. Just under three-quarters disagreed with the notion that seniors should stand back and let the young folk take charge of community affairs. However, the sample was split in two concerning who should take responsibility for family affairs. The combined results are suggestive that members of the younger generation are willing to allow their elders to assume the headship of the family in name only for the sake of propriety while they take the actual responsibility for decision making. In view of the tense situation in the black townships support for a more active role of

the older generation in community affairs might also be seen as an alignment of power of the middle and senior generations against the youth.

Further analyses suggest that patterns of agreement reflect self-interest. The more conservative and less privileged groups tend to be in favour of the more powerful and active role of the elderly. The partially overlapping categories of seniors, women and the less educated are all in favour of older people remaining in control of family and community affairs.

Forty-two per cent of persons in households where children are looked after by their grandmother (versus 36 % of others) and 66 % of persons who prefer grandmothers as childminders (vs 44 % of others) did not believe older people should hand over the responsibility for family affairs to their grown up children. Above-average percentage agreement with the item stating older people usually know best how to head the household was observed in the following survey categories: female (96 % vs 90 % male), lower educational standard achieved (98 % vs 91 % higher), non-professional or skilled occupation (97 % vs 92 % unskilled), granny care considered best (99 % vs 94 % crèche care). Above-average percentage agreement with the item stating older people should become involved in community affairs: older age group (81 % vs 78 % youngest), female (84 % vs 75 % male), grandparent (92 % vs 77 % parent), up to Standard 6 education (86 % , vs 75 % higher standard). Furthermore, 82 % of grandparents but only 70 % of parents disagreed with the statement that older people should stand back for younger people to take charge of community affairs.

5.5 Resource allocation to generations

While there is general consensus that respect for the aged calls for the provision of adequate facilities for seniors, 80 % of the respondents nevertheless believed that facilities for the increasing number of young people are a priority. The less educated (85 % of persons with up to Standard 6 education vs 74 % of the better educated) were more prepared to agree that young people are more in need of facilities than older people.

5.6 Summary

To sum up, the attitude survey reviewed in this section gives a fairly positive picture of the desirable role for seniors. Older people are by definition loving

and kind, and deserve to be treated with respect. There is plenty of support for the elderly to pursue an active lifestyle. However, at the same time the pattern of results suggests that the less dominant categories, the older women, and those occupying the lower socio-economic ranks, are acutely aware of the pressure to retain social influence in order to remain integrated in the community in late life. There is also evidence that there are significant differences of opinion concerning ideal solutions for safeguarding the interests of the elderly. The dilemma of modern society which has made it increasingly difficult to promote the interests of young and old simultaneously emerges as a distinctive pattern in the results.

6

DISCUSSION

The educare programme proposed for KwaMashu calls for the co-operation of three generations in a joint educational venture. Educare therefore provides an ideal vehicle for exploring perceptions of changing role models, role strain and intergenerational tension in a society in transition.

In the preceding sections the results of a survey evaluation of community reactions to the educare concept and its practical application in a township setting have been presented on an item-after-item basis. There are, however, overarching themes which emerged in the survey results. These are discussed below insofar as they have a bearing on intergenerational co-operation and tension.

6.1 The salience of educational values for all generations

The survey addressed mainly issues concerning care of the very young and the old, and superficially the care of the disabled. The initial working hypothesis stated that top priority would be assigned to the fulfilment of basic existential needs, followed by social-emotional needs for love, sympathy and company - with social recognition and personal development as a remoter goal. This hypothesis derives from the conventionally accepted hierarchy of needs. Moreover, earlier research (Møller *et al.*, 1987) has confirmed the salience of basic needs among the black sector of South African society which is underprivileged by many standards.

To a certain degree the survey results conformed to the conventional model. Basic needs aspects of care, such as shelter, nutrition and personal hygiene, health and physical safety (road safety and protection from crime and unrest-related violence), were indeed identified spontaneously as prerequisites to the fulfilment of other needs. At the same time educational aims appeared to gain significance whenever physical needs were not at issue. In these instances educational objectives seemed to offer strong competition to more basic needs.

To cite examples from the survey evidence: Crèches and a training centre for women, both serving an educational purpose, were voted for as higher community priorities than social centres for youth and old people. Crèches run by organisations were considered a better solution to childcare than caregiving by grandmothers, mainly because the former provided preschool instruction. An improved standard of childcare tended to be equated with preschool training rather than a higher standard of physical care. The main advantage of the proposed educare scheme was perceived to be an educational one; physical health and safety aspects were secondary considerations. Regarding attitudes towards old-age centres and institutional care for the aged, opportunities to learn handcrafts and other skills were considered an important function of institutions providing care for seniors, which ranked third in order of frequency of spontaneous mention after shelter, nursing care and provision of meals. Extension of training opportunities also ranked third among spontaneous recommendations for improved services for the aged, immediately after extension of facilities to care for greater numbers of old people and fundraising efforts to finance the increased demand for facilities. In response to a closed-ended item, skills training was rated by far as the most attractive feature of day care programmes for seniors, which presumably cater to the needs of the active or young-old. By contrast, physical safety and health care aspects were ranked very much lower than skills training. The following finding may be significant because educational values appeared to emerge out of context. This might be taken as a further indication of their salience. In connection with an item probing the perceived need for additional accommodation for the disabled relative to the aged category, a substantial percentage spontaneously identified the need to train the disabled for employment. Lastly, an overwhelming 98 % of the sample agreed that "older people can do useful things especially if they are to receive training".

In all the examples cited above education is considered an instrumental value which opens up earning opportunities. The emphasis tends to be not on the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake or for social prestige, but on the application of the acquired knowledge and skills. Thus, the proposed educare programme is considered useful only if it will guarantee grannies a job in future; or if it frees other members of the family from worry about their children so that they can pursue their careers, or in some instances their leisure activities single-mindedly. On the other hand the respondents saw no purpose in training already employed grannies in educare. They anticipated that the family would prevent a granny from participating in the programme if it

interfered with her duties in the home; that is, if training disrupted the income earning activities of other family members.

The survey results also suggest that personal development and self-esteem are intimately related to becoming educated or trained in "modern" skills. For grannies whose main assets are ones held in high esteem in traditional society, advancement through the proposed educare programme is attractive in that it means active participation in the modern values of the younger generation. Thus educare - in its educational dimension - provides for a convergence of values of three generations. This is reflected in spontaneous comments to the effect that adult children will regain confidence in their mother-in-laws as caregivers versed in the modern methods of childcare; and that children will take pride in being looked after by a trained grandmother who has been issued a certificate of training.

6.2 Differential interests served by the proposed educare project

It may be assumed that the original intention of the project proposers was for educare to serve the adult education needs of the active elderly in terms of a community outreach programme. However, the fact that both the middle and the senior generations represented in the survey, and by implication the younger generation, were able to identify with the programme and project their own aims and interests, may strengthen the popular appeal of educare. Spontaneous reactions suggest that the educare project was seen primarily as serving the interests of the very young rather than the old. Raising the standard of childcare and increasing the number of convenient and less costly childminding outlets were considered the major attractive features of educare. Grannies would be acquiring knowledge not primarily for their own use but in order to provide a desperately needed service to the family and the community. Although grannies' prestige might be enhanced by participating in a modern occupational field and possibly re-entering the adult job market, major prestige gains are seen to stem from the transmission of knowledge to the middle and younger generations, and from making an independent contribution to the family's welfare - say by incurring savings by acting as a resident childminder-cum-governess. Thus prestige is conferred by the middle generation.

Earlier research among Zulu pensioners (Møller, 1985) made it abundantly clear that only income earners can expect to gain genuine respect in the

community. Therefore the emphasis on the instrumental value of education, the income-earning aspect of the educare project, is understandable. According to gerontological theory, income earners regain their middle generation status which is lost after retirement from wage employment.

A further possibility is that the middle generation emphasises the many applications of training and the community service aspect with the social prestige structure of urban black society in mind. The middle generation knows full well that grannies will only derive prestige gains from financial independence or from the social recognition received from their children.

6.3 Revision of a traditional role for grannies

The initiators of the project probably had in mind a programme which would re-instate African grannies in their traditional role as childminders and educators. The only difference being that modern educational values would be grafted onto the traditional socialization patterns. Thus, grannies would continue to provide loving care for their grandchildren while maintaining the cultural links with traditional society which have gradually weakened in urban black society.

The respondents in the survey who responded most positively to the educare proposal involving grannies as trainees welcomed the combination of modern and traditional socialization patterns and felt that grannies were ideally placed to contribute the traditional ingredient. Grannies were by nature kind and loving towards children which predisposed them to become patient childminders.

Provided grannies could also master the modern element in educare, the proposed scheme would be a success. It was argued that grannies' achievement might well depend as much on the delivery of the training programme as on grannies' learning abilities and willingness to adapt to modern requirements in childcare.

Negative reactions towards educare arose in part from the complete negation of or dissociation from the traditional element which was typified as backward; dark and dingy; unclean and unhygienic; disorganised and unscheduled, and therefore unreliable and unsafe; slovenly and unsober. It was assumed that advancing age tended to exaggerate some of these negative characteristics. In short, according to this viewpoint, the traditional element

cannot conform to what might be called the christian-modern or western-education ethos which is a basic tenet of township lifestyle. Grannies cast in the mould of the traditional ethos are obviously poor contenders for educare training and if trained would perpetuate traditional values and ruin children's chances of success in urban society. Survey results also intimate that respondents subscribing to the negative granny stereotype are of the opinion that grannies require reform in order to serve a useful role in township life. Maladjusted grannies are also best placed in institutional care (cf. Møller, 1988).

6.4 The value of professionalisation of caregiving

The strong belief in the professionalisation of the caregiver role emergent in the survey evidence might be interpreted as a dimension of the Christian education ethos. As mentioned above, persons who upheld this ethos tended to be sceptical of the traditional role of grannies as caregivers, and welcomed mainly the educational advantages for children to be gained from the educare scheme.

There are plenty of examples in the survey evidence of a strong positive emphasis on professionalisation in various fields of caregiving. Majorities stated that the large crèche run by an organisation rather than an individual was the most popular method of providing preschool care in their neighbourhood and was also their personal preference. The major advantage of the crèche was its trained personnel. Similarly, the ideal childminder was elected to be a trained person rather than an individual sympathetic towards the needs of children. The modal spontaneous positive reaction towards the educare concept was that childminding practice would be placed in qualified, that is in professional hands. The concept of institutional care for the aged was greeted mainly because it featured professional care. Responses to two attitude items indicated complete confidence in professional care of the aged: 80% of the respondents agreed that it was better for older persons to be looked after by experts and only 40 % agreed that it would be better for children to care for their parents if they were not trained to look after old people.

There was also evidence of a polarization between households who relied on and expressed greater confidence in professional caregiving and households who set store by personalised caregiving by non-professionals. Different standards of education appear to be the decisive factor here. The group

supportive of professional caregiving tended to see the crèche and the old-age home as the ideal solution for the care of the very young and the very old. The group supportive of the idea of individualized care tended to acknowledge the important role of grannies as childminders and also supported the educare concept of upgrading grannies' skills in childminding through educare training. As mentioned earlier, persons who upheld the professional ethos, on the other hand, tended to be sceptical of the traditional role of grannies as caregivers and emphasized the educational advantages of educare for their children.

6.5 Recommendations

The strong belief in professionalisation of caregiving may have the effect that upgraded lay services produced by self-help programmes such as educare will be labelled as inferior from the outset. Survey results intimated a prestige value attached to sending children to a crèche rather than relying on granny childminding services. There is a possibility that the upgraded childminding services will not be able to shake off the low prestige label formerly attached to regular lay services. Perhaps more dangerous will be the failure to fulfil the raised expectations resulting from a naive belief in educare as a means of promoting "instant professionalism". The belief in training as a general passport to professional status and eligibility for a job in the case of adults, school readiness in the case of children, appears to be a strong one, which may result in feelings of deprivation if expectations cannot be materialized. There is some awareness of the danger of educare promising more than it can achieve. Reference was made to grannies experiencing frustration if they could not cope with the academic aspects of the training programme or failed to find suitable employment or sufficient clientele after successful completion of their training.

Obviously there is a need for a more balanced assessment of the opportunities and limitations of training and education programmes, such as educare, if they are to have an overall positive effect on community development. It will be important to promote the idea that individual advancement falls somewhere between the two extremes of over-optimistic and blind faith in individual progress on the one hand, and outright rejection or unwillingness to give upgrading schemes the benefit of the doubt, on the other hand.

7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A sample survey was conducted among 302 residents of KwaMashu in 1987. Approximately three-quarters of the respondents were women, two-thirds had children of their own and one-third were grandparents. Survey topics included the assessment of community needs in the field of preschool care; training programmes for childminders; the care of the aged, and attitudes towards the changing role of the aged in urban-industrial society.

A brief summary of the survey results is as follows:

7.1 The need for childcare services

The most urgently needed community facilities were perceived to be crèches (77 %) and a skills-training centre for women (74 %). The respondents claimed that crèches are the most popular means of caring for preschool children in KwaMashu, and only one in four surveyed households with small children made use of the childminding services of the grandmother in the household. Seventy-two per cent of the respondents voted for the large crèche as the preferred method of childcare. Less than 20 % of votes went to granny childminding services. Crèche services were viewed as superior to granny childminding services for the following reasons: adequate resources and facilities, trained personnel, efficient management, premises protected from motor traffic, and provision of health care services. According to survey results the most important characteristic of the ideal childminder were her professional qualifications. It was essential that a childminder could be trusted with the care and custody of one's child.

7.2 Reactions to the proposed educare training programme

The spontaneous reactions to the proposed educare project were generally positive. It was anticipated that educare training would, *inter alia*, raise the standard of childminding services in the community, provide channels of ad-

vancement for senior women, and increase the alternative crèche facilities available in the community. Perceived advantages for trainees included, in rough order of importance: the generation of employment and income-earning opportunities; social recognition, and the learning of new skills. It was envisaged that problems might be encountered if trainees experienced learning difficulties relating to age and health factors, if no transport was provided, or if trainees' commitments in the home prevented regular attendance. A minority drew attention to the possibility of the programme raising expectations of job openings among trainees, thus causing frustration among those who did not succeed in securing a job or clientele.

The respondents perceived the main advantages accruing to children from the proposed educare scheme to be the head start that children would gain before enrolling in school, adequate physical care, and exposure to traditional manners and customs. The respondents anticipated that parents would welcome the scheme mainly because it promised to raise the standard of childcare generally, and provided alternative more convenient and less expensive childcare for some households without access to regular crèche facilities. The vast majority of the sample members were of the opinion that younger women as well as grandmothers should be accepted for training in the educare scheme. The scheme would open up training opportunities for unemployed women who needed additional qualifications to find jobs.

As regards payment for childminding services, there was a general consensus that grandmothers trained in childminding should receive payment for looking after other people's children; only four in ten respondents felt that trained grandmothers should receive a fee for looking after their own grandchildren. However, the respondents agreed almost unanimously that if grandmothers were paid for childminding services at all, there should be an element in the fee for the childminders' personal use. The vast majority of the respondents anticipated there would be a reasonable demand for educare services, especially if fees were kept lower than those charged in regular crèches.

7.3 The need for care of the aged

A sizeable group in the sample identified the old-age home serving KwaMashu as a community self-help project which was entitled to receive the moral and financial support of the local residents. The majority of the respondents had heard of the old-age home, which was commonly referred to

as the home of the aged, the old women's or the granny home. In some areas the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre was also known by its official name. Less than one-fifth stated they had family or friends who used the services of the centre.

Some 80 % of the respondents were aware that the old-age centre in KwaMashu provided accommodation for old persons in need of care, 60 % knew of the day care service, but only 40 % indicated knowledge of the meals-on-wheels service. In order of priority of usefulness to old people in the community, accommodation services were rated first, meals-on-wheels a close second, and day care services markedly lower. Skills training - instruction in handwork - was voted the most attractive aspect of the day care service. Spontaneous recommendations for the improvement of services focused mainly on the extension and development of existing ones in order to provide additional places for further old persons in need of accommodation and care. A further recommendation was the extension of the skills training programme. It was also suggested that community support be enlisted by various means, including the scheduling of high-profile events for the aged and other members of the public, in order to raise funds for the development of KwaMashu's old-age centre.

There was general support for the proposal that the old-age centre should provide accommodation for the disabled of all ages. The provision was that sufficient resources were available and other organisations were unable to cope with the demand for accommodation for the disabled.

There was general support for the concept of institutional care for the aged, especially in the case of the indigent. In most instances institutional care was considered the ideal solution for the frail aged who require constant professional care.

A substantial minority clearly perceived institutional care as an attractive alternative or relief system which would assist township families to cope with the increasing demands made of them in urban society. This viewpoint was more commonplace among members of the middle generation. The older generation was well aware of this viewpoint, but only a minority wished to live in an institutional setting. Nevertheless, a substantial number of seniors perceived the old-age home as a place of safety to which they could escape if they were destitute or if domestic problems and tensions in the home became unbearable. The old-age home conjured up images of a well-run institution caring for the frail aged, in an immaculately clean, hygienic, and Christian environment. Further image aspects included around-the-clock professional

care, training in handcraft and contact with other older persons in the community. There also seemed to be some awareness of community extension services.

7.4 Perceptions of changing roles for old people in transitional society

An attitude survey revealed that traditional respect for the elderly is not necessarily affected by the perceived loss of the elderly role in modern-industrial society. In spite of majority acceptance of the traditional role model of the retiree at rest, there was also widespread approval of active involvement of the elderly in family and community affairs. The findings suggest that older persons covet the active role in order to retain their influence and esteem in the community, while younger persons are supportive of the active role for their parents in order to promote the welfare of the family and good relationships between the generations. A subgroup in the middle generation appeared to be more sceptical of the engaged role for the elderly. This subgroup typically set great store by professional care for the aged.

The overall response pattern obtained from the attitude survey is suggestive that the middle generation still feels a strong moral obligation to care for and pay traditional respect to the older generation. However, in the case of a conflict of interests between the generations, the middle generation considers its needs to be paramount. The middle generation argues that institutional care for the aged may be justified because it guarantees expert care for loved ones.

7.5 Recommendations

The overall picture is encouraging if all the results reviewed above are read together. It is recommended that the ZamaZulu Nkosi Centre should proceed with the proposed educare programme. There is community support for the educare programme because people believe it will increase the quantity and quality of childcare services in the longer term. The employment generating aspect of the educare programme is an attractive one in the eyes of the public which should reinforce the caring image of the centre and increase community awareness of the centre's work. Most important of all, the proposed educare programme may reactivate the traditional grandmother role in modern guise, thereby inspiring greater confidence in the competence of

older women. There are signs in the research findings that the educare concept may serve the interests of three generations simultaneously, thus reconciling the diverse needs of all members of black urban families and contributing towards a greater unity of purpose.

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APPENDIX 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

	%
N = 302, unless otherwise stated	
Age	
< 25 years	15
25-30 years	20
31-40 years	20
41-50 years	15
51-60 years	15
60+ years	15
TOTAL	100
Gender	
Men	23
Women	77
TOTAL	100
Life-cycle status	
No children	3
Parent	66
Grandparent	31
TOTAL	100
Educational level attained	
None	8
Sub A - Std 3	14
Std 4-6	35
Std 7-8	27
Std 9-10	14
Matriculation and higher	2
TOTAL	100

Appendix 1 continued on next page

Appendix 1 continued

	%
Occupation of respondent	
(N = 280)	
Regular full-time employment	32
Part-time employment	4
Informal sector activity	8
Unemployed, not economically active	43
Housewife	2
Scholar	2
Pensioner, disability grant	9
TOTAL	100
Head of household	
Male	65
Female	35
TOTAL	100
Respondent's status in the household	
Household head	35
Other	62
No information	3
TOTAL	100
Occupation of the main breadwinner in the household	
Professional, semi-professional	7
Skilled	21
Semi-skilled	19
Manual and routine non-manual	12
Domestic work	13
Informal sector activity	5
Pensioner	16
Unemployed	7
TOTAL	100

Appendix 1 continued on next page

Appendix 1 continued

		%
Number of schoolchildren in the household		
None		16
1-2		41
3-4		26
5 or more		17
TOTAL		100
School attendance: 73 % of all households		
86 % of households with children of schoolgoing age		
Number of preschool children in the household		
None		32
1		32
2		20
3		8
4 or more		8
TOTAL		100
Incidence of grannies		
Households with a granny		56
granny interviewed	29	
granny not interviewed	27	
Household with no granny		44
TOTAL		100
Adjusted N = 298		

Appendix 1 continued on next page

Appendix 1 continued

Residential area				
	Number	All areas	KwaMashu	Distribution of housing units* by area
		%	%	%
B section	21	7,0	7,5	7,2
C section	32	10,6	11,4	11,3
D section	29	9,6	10,4	10,4
E section	20	6,6	7,1	7,3
F section	29	9,6	10,4	10,4
G section	23	7,6	8,2	8,0
H section	14	4,6	5,0	5,0
J section	23	7,6	8,2	8,1
K section	33	10,9	11,8	11,9
L section	32	10,6	11,4	11,3**
M section	24	7,9	8,6	9,1
Richmond Farm	22	7,3	-	-
TOTAL	302	99,9	100,0	100,0

* 15036 units = 100%.

** Dual occupancy units sampled as two units.

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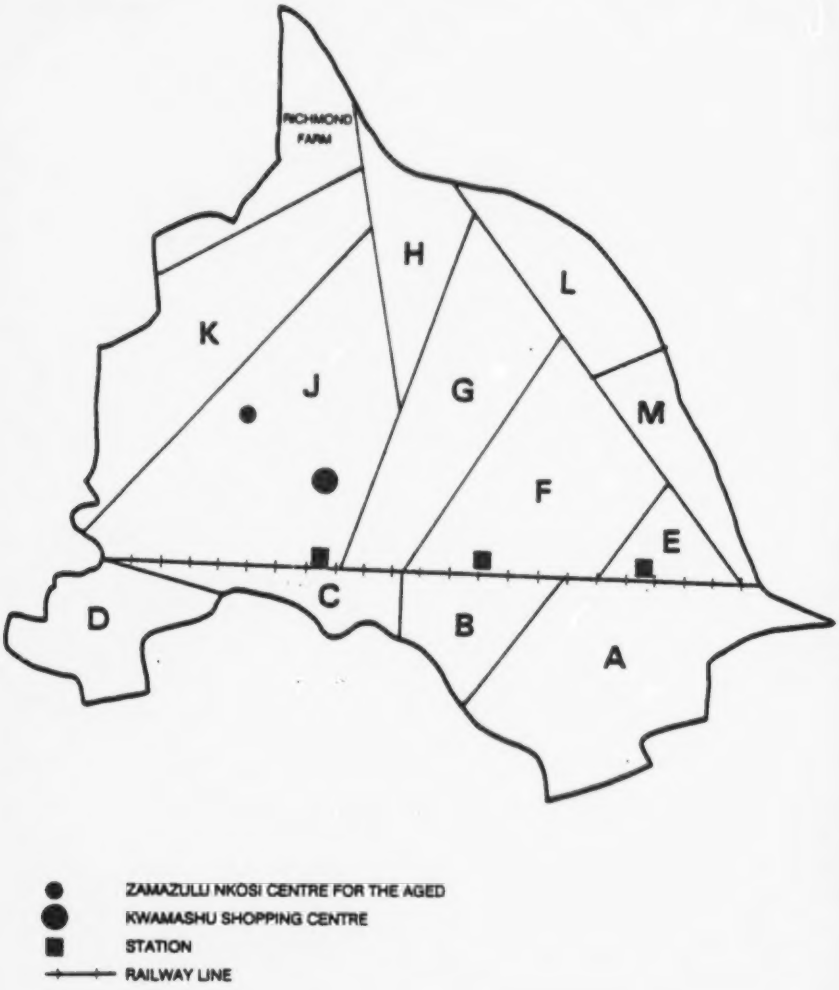
APPENDIX 2

SKETCH MAP OF KWAMASHU SHOWING LOCATION OF THE OLD-AGE CENTRE



APPENDIX 3

CIRCULAR SENT TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE SURVEY REPORTING ON THE RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
Toegepaste Maatskaplike Studiesentrum
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL UNIVERSITEIT VAN NATAL

KING GEORGE V AVENUE
DURBAN 4001
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
TELEPHONE 8188111/811243/815811
TA 'UNIVERSITY' TELEX 6-20177

Dear Respondent

September 1998

Last year the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal carried out research on behalf of the KwaMashu Christian Care Society which runs the Izimzulu Khosi old age centre. The researchers asked randomly selected residents about the introduction of an EDUCARE programme at the old age home. The programme would provide additional training for grannies who care for small children.

Respondents were promised that they would be informed of the outcome of the research. We list below the major findings from this research for your information.

FINDINGS CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARDS COMMUNITY NEEDS:

Most respondents stated that:

- creches for young children were urgently needed;
- a large creche was the requirement for the care of pre-school children (72 % of respondent indicated this);
- the respondents' major concern was the physical care and mental development of their children;
- they preferred trained persons to care for their children rather than a 'kind' person who likes children.

FINDINGS CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF AN EDUCARE PROGRAMME AT KWAMASHU'S OLD AGE CENTRE:

- The majority of respondents felt that there was a need for better, more professional childminders;
- most respondents thought the idea of training grannies as childminders a good one (98 %);
- virtually all respondents believed that there would be definite advantages and benefits (accruing to the children) with the introduction of the EDUCARE programme;
- most respondents felt that if the grannies were properly trained they should be paid for their services (99 %);
- the majority of respondents also indicated their willingness to pay trained grannies (81 %);
- 4 out of 5 respondents thought younger women should also benefit from the training programme.

Now that the research results are known the KwaMashu Christian Care Society is satisfied that people in KwaMashu welcome the introduction of an EDUCARE programme. The Society will actively seek funds to build a creche where the training can take place.

We thank you for your cooperation in our survey. Should you have any further enquiries regarding our findings please contact the Centre for Social and Development Studies.

Yours sincerely

VALERIE MOLLER
ACTING DIRECTOR

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CIRCULAR SENT TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE SURVEY REPORTING ON THE RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY

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KING GEORGE V AVENUE
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TA "UNIVERSITY" TELEX 6-20177

Mfowethu/Bodewethu

September 1988

Ngenyaka odlule iCentre for Applied Social Sciences yase University yase Natal, yenza umcwaningo, ngokhaya labadala laKwaMashu, iChristian Care Society okuyiyona yenqamele lelikhaya iZamazulu Nkosi. Abacwaningi babuza umphakathi ngemibono yabo ngokuvulwa kwesiko lokwandisa ulwazi ekhaya labadala. Lelisiso limqabe nohlelo lokuqeqesha ogogo ababheka abantwana.

Abaphendula kulowomcwaningo bathenjiswa ukunikezwa imiphumela yocwaningo. Lapha ngezansi yimiphumela esemqoka yalo mcwaningo njengoba bathenjiswa.

IMIPHUMELA MAYELANA NEKHAYA LOMPHAKATHI

Iningi kulabo abaphendula babeka kanje:

Isinkulisa sabantwana sisemqoka kakhulu;
Inkulisa enkulu yabantwana abalungiselela ukungena esikoleni (pre-school) yaba isidingo esikhulu.
(Bayi 72 % abantu abavumelana nalombono);
Iningi lomphakathi laqala ekuthuthukiseni kwempilo nenqgondo yesingane sabo.

Iningi lakhetha ukuba kube umuntu oqeqeshiwe ongabheka isingane, kunowuntu onowuza nosithandayo isingane sabo.

UVO NEMIPHUMELA MAYELANA NEKHEO LENGUBO NGOKUPONA KWABANGAPHAKATHI EKHAYA LABADALA

Iningi lomphakathi larwakalisa kakhulu ukuba kwenziwe njengo, nokuba kubekhona ababheki besingane abafundile.

Iningi laboza ukuthi ukuqeqesha ogogo kube yibo abaqcini besingane kuhle kakhulu. Kwaba (96 %).

Ciabo, bonke abaphendula bathi kungaba nenzuzo enkulu (kubantwana) uma kungaba nalelisiko lemfundo lapha.

Bonke abaphendula babona ukuthi uma ogogo beqeqeshwa ngokwanele kumele baholelwe ngokusebenza kwabo (99 %).

Bonke abaphendula bakhombisa ukusimisela okukhulu, ukuholela ogogo abaqeqeshiwe (81 %).

Kubantu abane, kwabayisihlanu babona kufanele ukuthi abantu besifazane abasebenzha nabo bangasisakala kulokhu kuqeqeshwa.

Njengoba imiphumela yalomcwaningo isiyaseka, neChristian Care Society isiyaqculiseka ukuthi abantu bakwa Mashu bayakuthakasela ukuvulwa kwalomnyango walokhukuqeqeshwa. Lenhlangano yethembisa ukuphuma umkhankaso wokufuna abanhasi besimali esisosisa ukwakha inkulisa okusobuyefuthi kuqeqeshwe kuyona.

Siyazonga kakhulu ngokubambisana nathi kulomcwaningo wethu. Uma kukhona okunye esifuna ukukwazi ngalemiphumela yethu, sicela ukuba nithantaze nomnyango we Centre for Social and Development Studies.

Yimina Osithobayo

VALERIE MULLER
ACTING DIRECTOR

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APPENDIX 4

LEAFLET ADVERTISING THE KHULAKAHLE CHILDMINDING ASSOCIATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMME

Khulakahle
Childminding
Association

The Khulakahle concept

Khulakahle is a new division of the highly respected KwaMashu Christian Care Society. The society, which was founded by the Rotary Club of Durban Berea, aims not only to meet the need of the elderly in the community of KwaMashu but also those of its youngest members, the pre-school children.

Khulakahle is a project designed to train women to take care of pre-school children in a home environment.

Why Khulakahle?

In KwaZulu alone an estimated one million children are under the age of seven. Approximately half will be in need of pre-school services to supplement home care. The present number of creches in KwaMashu can not cope with this massive burden alone.

What are the financial needs of Khulakahle?

- Transport, running costs and maintenance. The co-ordinator needs transport for collecting trainees, delivery, food, equipment and outings.
- Basic equipment for training and creches.
- Administration of creches.
- Food.
- Health care and inoculations.
- In-service training.
- Outings.
- Salaries.

KHULAKAHLE
KwaMashu Christian Society
Zamzulu Nkosi Centre
W/o No K20-99-00-00001
Co-ordinator Miss R Ross
P.O. Box 1295
Durban 4000
South Africa

What does the future have in store for Khulakahle?

Khulakahle plans to start as a seed in the community and grow. We aim to start with a few childminders and establish a reliable pattern before broadening our horizons. It is only by this approach that we can start to provide a service that meets the needs of the community.

Khulakahle would like eventually to establish a training creche which would be an example of child care as well as facilitating training.

In order for Khulakahle to be a true community project a new co-ordinator, indigenous to the area, must be trained together with at least one more assistant as the project expands to meet the needs of more families.

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APPENDIX 4

LEAFLET ADVERTISING THE KHULAKAHLE CHILDMINDING ASSOCIATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMME

Who will manage the Khulakahle programme?

Although Khulakahle is part of a larger organisation, the managing committee will be made up of concerned and actively involved people of KwaMashu, predominantly parents. This style of management is warmly supported by other pre-school organisations who are willing to assist in training people to fulfil this very important role.

What links does Khulakahle have with other leading pre-school organisations?

Childminding Associations
Chatsworth Early Learning Centre
Tree
Urban Foundation
Rotary Clubs
Churches
Cord

What happens after training?

The co-ordinator for the programme will be responsible for allocating a maximum of six children to each childminder. These children will be of various ages, so as not to overburden the minder and so that there is opportunity for each child to have individual attention at some stage during each day.

Are the childminders supported in their work?

Yes. The childminders are supported in a variety of ways, by regular visits of the co-ordinator, by in-service training sessions with the opportunity to discuss problems with other experts and childminders, by an equipment library and by outings for childminders and children.

How will the nutrition and health needs be met?

Each child will receive nutritious food each day, supplied by Khulakahle. A complete inoculation programme will be drawn up for each child and an example of healthy living will be set by the childminder.

How will Khulakahle work?

Khulakahle is concerned with training people to provide an environment which is both safe and stimulating for the child.

All childminders will be taught complete care of the child. So training will involve all of the following:

Prior to and during training the childminders will be assessed for their suitability. Each childminder together with their accommodation will be assessed by a committee and will receive a certificate on successful completion of the course.

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